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PRACTICAL
APPLICATIONS
OF DEMOCRACY

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PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

GEORGE B. de HUSZAR

*Faculty of European and Asiatic Area Study
University of Chicago*



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PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

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To My Brother

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FOREWORD

BY EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

*Professor of Social Philosophy
New York School of Social Work, Columbia University*

Democracy, like all other good ideas, may be drowned in words. In fact, the flood of words which American apologists of democracy have already let loose gives cause for suspicion. If we really believed in democracy as deeply as we insist, it would not be necessary to talk so much about its virtues. He who protests too loudly is usually attempting to conceal something. With respect to democracy it is my conviction that many of its contemporary spokesmen speak so loudly because they are aware that their behavior does not conform with their protestations.

We can be loyal only to that which we have experienced. Democracy is a variety of experience and not a mode of discourse. Those who have experienced democracy have no need for declamations, their conduct is far more eloquent and convincing than their words. But it is precisely at this point that we are weak, we know all the right things to say about democracy but when we are asked how to apply its principles to specific situations we either fall back on such arbitrary devices as majority rule or we are silent. The plain truth of the matter is that our democratic protagonists have not furnished us with democratic tools.

It is for this reason that I am so excited about Mr. Huszar's book. It is, indeed, the sole book of my acquaintance which deals entirely, or almost so, with the proposi-

tion that democracy can be learned in only one way, namely, through action. But this is not all, he also gives some specific instructions and clues regarding the types of situation in which democratic process is applicable. These situations lie within the spheres of community, government, education, art, leisure, journalism, administration and work. Consequently, this essay applies to a large number of functionaries, indeed, to anyone who thinks of himself as a leader or as a member of an operating group. In addition to all of this, Mr Huszar's text is written in simple, straightforward prose and contains almost none of that academic jargon which seems to alienate so many sincere persons who have in these fateful days come to regard democracy as the crucial issue of our age.

I sometimes shudder when I hear angry Americans say that our chief postwar task is to teach democracy to the Germans and the Japanese. Aside from the inner contradiction which such a statement contains, my apprehension arises from the fact that it indicates a shallow conception of the genuine meaning of the democratic struggle. No individual and no collection of individuals can achieve democracy either by indoctrination or by transference. Unless democracy "gets into" the bones and muscles, that is, unless it results from doing, there are no grounds for anticipating its survival. I think those who read this text will come to feel that this proposition has been amply demonstrated and illustrated by Mr. Huszar's welcome book.

In conclusion, my strictures on the democratic verbalists (and I must admit my own vulnerability at this point) should not be taken to mean that democracy has no connections with speech and language. Talking is also an important form of behavior, but all discourse falls into two categories. (a) talk which relates to action and (b) talk which relates to more talk. When we take seriously the

injunction which Mr. Huszar has laid upon us, namely, to translate our democratic wishes into democratic conduct, we shall then have something significant to talk about. When talk is divorced from life and action, it becomes an indulgence. It is through such indulgences that intellectuals get separated from the people. It will be seen, I trust, from these random remarks that I am doing something more than merely recommending another book on democracy. I am, like Mr. Huszar himself, attempting to lay the foundation for an entirely new way of dealing with the democratic problem.

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PREFACE

Democracy is something you do, not something you talk about. It is more than a form of government, or an attitude or opinion. It is participation. If you are a person who does not like to sit by when your way of life is threatened, but want to do something about it, then this book is written for you. It is not addressed to public officials telling them what they can do about the crisis of democracy. Such an effort would ignore the fundamental principle of democracy, that the ultimate foundation of it is not decision and action coming down from public officials, but up from millions of John Smiths.

There are many books on democracy. They have much to say on What and Why, "What is the matter with democracy?" "Why did the European democracies fail?" The answers to such questions are necessary. We must know them to see clearly. But we also need methods of dealing with the problems of democratic action. To obtain these, we have to ask How-questions; "How can we do something about it?"

For every person concerned with the *methods* of democracy there are dozens concerned with *principles*. Principles are abstract and philosophic; methods are concrete and practical. This volume deals with methods of action, simple and common-sense ones, which are practical here and now. To devise simple methods is a difficult task. To test them, and refine them, takes time and painstaking effort. It is easy to learn how to drive a car. Yet, behind the modern automobile, so easy to drive, are years and years of engineering science. So it is with the methods of democ-

racy. In seeking simple methods, one becomes involved in profundities of human relationships.

If we do not have methods by which we can improve our democracy, we have only vague aspirations, slogans in the mouth of politicians, and truisms in our books. Such are easily swept aside by forces which are hostile to democracy.

A dynamic democracy is not only a desirable goal, the aim we are fighting for, but also a prerequisite for victory. Whether it be for war or peace, democracy has to evolve new methods, methods capable of dealing with current problems. The failure of traditional methods is well illustrated by the Pearl Harbor incident. There is a parlor game in which the amusement consists of comparing a message to its original context after it has been whispered from player to player around the room. The difference between the two affords some highly spontaneous humor. It's funny—as a parlor game. But, used seriously as it is in industry, government, and the army, this “word game” can have deadly results. The 12,000-word report of President Roosevelt's commission to investigate the Pearl Harbor tragedy was a dramatic exposé of the failure of the paper or word-pushing method. Yes, the generals and admirals, the War and Navy Departments had pushed papers around in the approved ways. They had sent dispatches and messages back and forth—in words. But these words fell so far short of conveying the total meaning of the crisis situation that the two commanders at Pearl Harbor, one of the army and one of the navy, never got together to talk the situation over.

Was the dereliction of duty only that of men? Was there not also dereliction inherent in the method itself—the artificial “line of authority” system which all America uses? Paper pushing, report writing, message sending—up and down, up and down—seem inherent in this system

The effect on the men who do it year in and year out, as officers do in large organizations, business, government and military, is deadening.

A book which is concerned with effective democratic methods will have to face such questions as:

How to translate into action the beautiful but vague words: co-operation and co-ordination

How to transform empty-shelled institutions into living organisms.

How to integrate where now is disintegration—in personal, community, social, economic and political life

How to generate and release the energy of which man is capable.

Part I of this volume states the two main problems we have to face: disintegration and inaction, and points out the necessity of integration and action through an effective democracy. It further shows how such integration and action can be attained through building social structure out of social units, problem-centered-groups.

Part II illustrates the application of this method of building problem-centered-groups in various fields: community, government, education, art, leisure, journalism, employment, vocational training and industry.

Part III relates the significance of the method to the participating individual and discusses its effects on him.

The method proposed is eminently practical, it has been applied in many fields of human endeavor. It has been used within one of the largest firms of the United States. At one time 30,000 persons of this firm were using the method. And it can be used in any situation where people get together, where problems have to be solved. The significance of this method ultimately depends on you. All a book can do is to show how to use it. It needs *you* to apply it before it can become a vitalizing force of democratic action.

I wish to express my deep appreciation for the collaboration of Mr. John H. Millar. He has not only originated the main theme of this book, but has greatly helped me to formulate it in its present form. Without his thoughts on democracy this book could not have been written.

My thanks are also due to Mrs. Frederick Rubel, Mr. Moses Levitan, Mr. William Shawn, trustees of the estate of the late Jack M. Frank, and Mrs. Albert Counselbaum, Professor and Mrs. Gottschalk and Dr. Robert Redfield, who have made the writing of this work possible.

I also wish to thank Professor Quincy Wright, Major Carleton Washburne, and Mr. Sterling North for their interest and assistance. I am grateful to Professor Eduard C. Lindeman for his Foreword. To Mrs. Tabor R. Novak I am indebted for her generous efforts in editing the manuscript and offering many valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Mr. Egon Ungar for drawing the illustrations.

Unfortunately there is no space here to offer individual acknowledgments to the many persons who have been kind enough to read the manuscript and offer suggestions or to those hundreds of people who have commented on my lectures on democracy. I hope they will be thanked by finding their help and interest reflected in these pages.

The Author

Chicago, Illinois
August 29, 1944

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PRACTICAL
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PART I

*THE PROBLEM, THE ANSWER,
AND THE METHOD*

Chapter I

THE PROBLEM:
DISINTEGRATION AND INACTION

DISINTEGRATION LEADS TO DICTATORSHIP

One summer afternoon in 1936, I lost my way in Berlin. My visit to Germany happened to coincide with the Olympic Games, when all foreigners were met everywhere by a courteous populace, anxious to make a good impression. Consequently, I felt no embarrassment in asking directions of a passer-by. He was eager to show me the way and insisted on accompanying me. He seemed to be a typical member of the German lower middle class, a sort of John Smith of Germany.

I was glad to have him as my companion and was interested in the conversation he started as we walked. He seemed pleased to find a foreigner to whom he could tell all that was in his head and heart. The inevitable question was immediately raised, "What was the matter with the Weimar Republic, and what were the people expecting from Hitler?" I encouraged him to talk, since this was an opportunity to obtain a firsthand reaction of a typical German.

He said to me emphatically "See here, you must realize

what a mess we were in before the rise of Hitler. We didn't know where we were going, and it was pretty depressing to have nothing to believe in and no economic security whatever. Germany was at the bottom of the heap with no prestige abroad and disorganization here at home. Everyone of us was praying for some sense of direction, for a feeling that we belonged. Hitler gave us a destiny."

The sincerity with which he expressed his ideas was impressive. He seemed convinced of his opinions, not like one who has been paid or taught to say things. This was all the more interesting when you consider that he was probably a decent fellow, who disapproved of the extreme measures of the Nazis. And yet he talked about Nazism with enthusiasm.

His reasoning and emotional response to Hitler probably represented that of millions. What was this "mystic" quality in Nazism which fired the imagination of this man and other Germans like him? That question remained in my mind long after I said good-by to him on the Unter den Linden. I felt then what I know now—that in his simple words lay the explanation of the Nazi victory in Germany.

This man had spoken of the extreme disintegration which preceded the rise of Hitler. Out of such disintegration arose Nazism. For no society can exist long, which is unable to provide a community of feeling, a sense of direction. *Most people will desert a society from which unity has departed for an order which claims to restore unity.* Since most people had lost their faith in the workability of the existing society in Germany—the Weimar Republic—they turned toward new leaders and policies. Under conditions of disintegration a handful of determined adventurers can seize power, because no one has any respect for the existing institutions, and there is no solidarity among the people.

The point that disintegration leads to dictatorship can be illustrated in the experience of the average individual. You probably have among your acquaintances a person—let's call him Henry—who has a modest job, a small family and a home in which he is relatively happy and content. He is a member of the local Lions Club, goes to church and takes an interest in civic affairs. His job satisfies him too; he does not get a big salary, but he has a feeling of security and importance, because, being in the real estate business, he knows that his work is significant to the community. Being relatively well adjusted, Henry appreciates the political, economic, and social system under which he lives, and which gives him liberty, security and recognition. Since he feels that he belongs, he is convinced that he has a stake in the continuance of the social order which gives him this and other benefits.

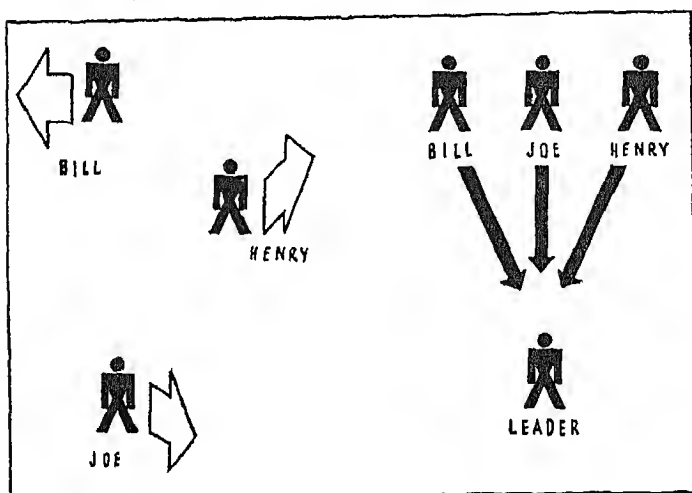
Let us change the situation for a moment. Suppose Henry loses his job and consequently his position in the community. He hangs around his flat all the time, since he has lost interest in his church and club. This leads to maladjustments with his wife in whose eyes he becomes a burden and a nuisance. Under such conditions, Henry will become embittered and angry. His sense of security and feeling of belongingness will be gone. He will begin to question the value of the existing social order, blaming on it his troubles. Around him everything becomes disintegration, since he himself is disintegrating.

If we take a more general view and assume that the same happens to thousands of Henrys, then it is apparent how society as a whole assumes the state of disintegration. Henry, Joe, Bill and others will feel the same way. For them faith in the existing order and hope for improvement are gone. Since they cannot stand the strain long, they will yearn for some new ideology which promises to end disintegration. They will seek refuge in dictatorship, where

an individual on top tells those beneath what to think and do.

Society resembles a living organism, it is not a simple sum of John Smith 1, John Smith 2, John Smith 3, etc. Rather it is John Smith 1 in relation to John Smith 2, and John Smith 2 in relation to John Smith 3 and so forth. Society is not a mere collection of individuals and groups

DISINTEGRATION LEADS TO DICTATORSHIP



but a series of *relationships* between them. The more intense these relationships are, the more closely organized the society.

Disintegration is a process in which the "whole" is tending to lose its unity, and the parts begin to live as separate entities. Suppose that several members of your community agree to meet once a week to encourage the rubber salvage. Someone takes the responsibility of arranging for the meeting room, another agrees to make a weekly survey of the rubber salvage campaign in the community and report his findings, while another takes it upon himself to

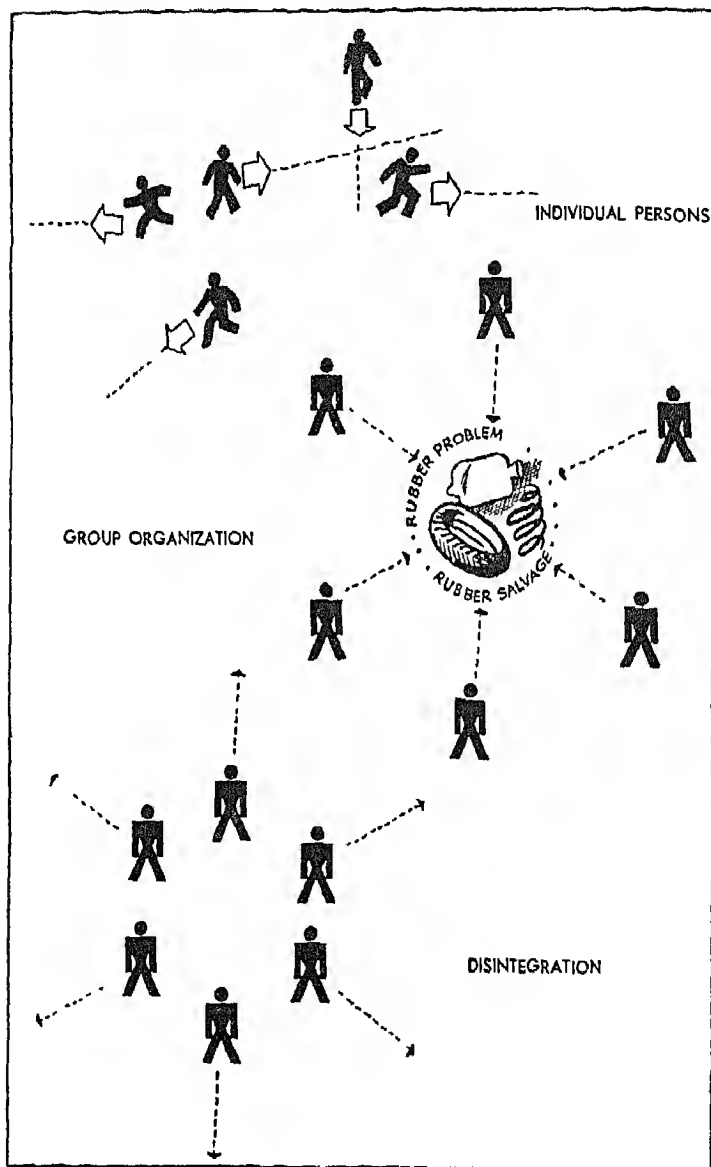
invite representatives of various local organizations who might be helpful in working out ways and means of a more effective campaign. This little group is a society on a small scale, with rather simple aims and organizational problems. If the members lose their interest in rubber salvage, and forget to arrange the meeting, prepare the report, the organization disintegrates. As a consequence, the members discontinue reciprocal relations with each other, and the previous small society ceases to exist.

Disintegration is characteristic, more or less, of every nation today. The modern world is vast and complex. Technology has destroyed the predominantly agrarian society of the eighteenth century and created the urban society of the twentieth, speeding up the tempo of living in the process. Imagine New England at the end of the eighteenth century and compare it with modern society. On the one hand you see a relatively stable and simple rural society, on the other, a vast and complicated society in constant flux.

The equilibrium of modern society is constantly upset by depressions and the conflicting interests of groups. The more complex society becomes, the greater the dangers of chaos and confusion. While modern society is becoming vaster, institutions larger and problems more intricate, single human beings are becoming less and less significant, and more and more insecure. Most of us become cogs in a complicated civilization which we scarcely understand. While in the past men were related to each other as individuals, today their relationship is largely with great impersonal concerns.

Thus, in modern society, personal relationships are unsatisfactory. It has always been in the family and the home where personal relationships could be maintained, where man could achieve a sense of belongingness. Today the family and the home are fighting tremendous dis-

A RUBBER SALVAGE GROUP AS A SMALL SOCIETY



tegrating forces, especially in the city. When our institutions lose their hold upon us, we become detached, insecure, and lonely.

INACTION OF DEMOCRACY

So-called democracy in Europe never met the challenge of disintegration and totalitarianism. Lack of a positive approach, lack of appreciation of problems and methods for their solution, prepared the ground for the rise of Nazism. Thus the apparent force of Nazism lay in the weaknesses of others, in the political weariness and impotency of liberals and democrats.

Much of the Weimar Republic was talk: speeches, debates, pronouncements, but no action. As an example of the muddling-through policy of the Weimar Republic, consider the fact that neither the judges and functionaries of the monarchy, reactionary schoolteachers who preached against freedom and democracy, nor the military caste was curtailed or controlled under its rule. Neither was the Weimar Republic able to integrate German society, to bring together various conflicting groups, to offer a sense of belonging.

In the case of Germany the totalitarian assault came from within, in the case of France it came from without. But the same factor of inaction was responsible in both cases for the success of the Nazis. France was not so much defeated during the two weeks of the invasion as in years before when it was unable to work out a positive democracy, which would have been able to integrate French society. But French democracy seems to have lost its vitality, it was neither able to solve its problems, nor to uproot the germs of Fascism which were infesting the French body politic.

France's defeat, like that of the Weimar Republic, was

partly due to the weakness of democracy. A statement made as early as 1932 by the Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset, applies to both the German and the French democracy

With certain exceptions, the whole modern world has a feeling of foreboding that the established forms of democracy and liberalism have degenerated until there is nothing left of them but words. Fascism had the strength of mind to say this openly and to comport itself accordingly. This is why it won. And if you look at continental Europe you will see that legitimate power is everywhere propped up with cobwebs and completely at the mercy of the first illegitimate fist that chooses to crash through them.

Note Ortega's statement that democracy and liberalism have become *words*. Talk-democracy leads to the destruction of democracy. Many of the democrats in Germany before Hitler's rise to power, and most of the democrats in other European countries after the rise of Hitler, talked. Words, and more words, unrelated to action, totally oblivious of the necessity of action. If the people of Germany had been offered a real alternative to Nazism, Nazism might never have arisen. To avoid the fate of Germany and other continental democracies, our democracy must become much more dynamic. Unlike France, such a democracy would be strong enough to withstand any possible assault from without. It would also be able to meet the individual psychological problems of insecurity and lack of belongingness which are feeding grounds for dictators if left unsolved.

Thus one of the greatest threats to our democracy is the existence in our society of similar conditions of disintegration and inaction which led to the triumph of Nazism in other countries. Whether we can deal with the problem of disintegration and inaction leading to authoritarianism, is

a decisive factor of our future. The problem of integration in our complex world remains a problem even when Nazism is destroyed, since the underlying forces of disintegration, of which dictatorship is the product, will still have to be faced. It is not sufficient to get rid of the symptom, the disease must be cured. If we cannot develop a dynamic democracy capable of integrating our society, someone like Hitler will do it for us by force. Thus integration and action are not only wartime necessities but prerequisites for the continuance of democratic society.

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Chapter 2

THE ANSWER. DYNAMIC DEMOCRACY

DO-DEMOCRACY VERSUS TALK-DEMOCRACY

The prevalent conception of democracy cannot deal with disintegration and inaction. It is based on the methods of eighteenth century democracy: representative assembly, constitution, ballot, and party politics. In the light of later events the extravagant expectations from these methods did not seem to be justified. For what we call democracy has certain basic weaknesses to which dictators with some justification point with scorn. It tends to be negative, disintegrating, relying too much on checks and balances, the two-party system, protests and compromises. Underlying the structure of our government is the traditional belief in checks and balances—that by keeping each other from doing evil we will arrive at a good society.

Because the century and a half during which our democracy thrived was a pioneer period, the negative qualities of government were not serious. Positive enterprise offset negative government and the inadequate democratic ideology. Mistakes, inefficiency, and waste were swallowed up in the process of exploiting and developing a rich continent. Now it is otherwise. Pioneer days are over. The problems to be solved have become more complex. The positive things to be done by society as a whole, not by parties working against each other, are now more numerous and more important.

Adaptation is the secret of survival of individuals as well as of societies. Democracy must be adapted to new needs.

New methods of democratic, free, and co-operative living have to be worked out The creation of such methods has to keep pace with technological inventions which make our civilization more complex day by day. Foremost thinkers on democracy, like John Dewey, M. P. Follett, Eduard Lindeman, and Ordway Tead, are well aware of the necessity of new and more efficient democratic methods.

The prevalent view of democracy maintains that a democratic form of government is the essence of democracy. It has too much faith in constitutions and elections, believing that by giving people the right to vote, true democracy will result. But democracy is much more than a form of government. It is a kind of society where the development of the human personality is the aim, and co-operation the method. The implications of such a view are far-reaching, with it we abandon our limited conception of democracy. Government, parties, and voting would cease to be our sole preoccupation. Citizenship according to this conception of democracy is much more than the mere right of voting. It becomes nothing less than the art of living together.

We tend to look upon government as a necessary evil, something apart from us, to which we consent provided it is not too bad, rather than something in which it is a privilege and responsibility to participate. Government by the consent of the governed is a passive idea. Under this system the part of the people tends to be limited to Yes or No. Even Hitler pays lip service to such a conception of democracy. In a consent-democracy there are a few people who *do*, and many who *consent* or *protest*.

Consent-democracy is based on words, on too much passive listening and talking. People too often listen to someone trying to "sell" them something. We have put too much faith in *exhortation* which is based on the theory

that the way to get something done is to stand up and tell people to do it. The teacher tells it to the children, the preacher tells it to the congregation, the employer tells it to his employes, and the politician tells it to the voters. We add together all this telling and call it democracy.

There is too much talk-democracy under the existing system of consent-democracy. Often this is done on an abstract level. Such an abstract conception of democracy sounds excellent, it is full of idealism and adjectives. But it is nothing but words. Thus it is a vision to behold by those who have the leisure to dream, a paradise in which nobody ever lived.

Of course, not all talking is useless. Discussions which help people to formulate their thoughts and policies are far from being futile. We need such discussion to sustain our system of parties and elections. For naturally the solution of certain national problems has to be delegated. We need the party system and the traditional method of consent to select those to whom power is to be delegated.

The question is not that of abandoning consent-democracy in favor of another theory of democracy, but that of supplementing and combining consent-democracy with do-democracy. The phrase "do-democracy" will be used in this volume as a shorthand expression for democracy in action.

In view of the complexity of modern society, the Federal government is bound to play an increasing role. This trend toward centralization can be counterbalanced if we supplement consent-democracy by do-democracy. For much can be done by ourselves, by concrete and habitual actions in our daily life. Citizens fulfill their function not merely by voting, but also by participating in the affairs of their nation actively and creatively.

Do-democracy is not based on listening or talking, nor on "counting noses": *it is based on participation, facing*

problems together Creative participation by intelligent human beings in the ongoing process of society is essential to the general welfare. Thus the problem of democracy is not merely how to obtain consent, but also, how to create opportunities for participation and a determination to participate.

In contrast to the theory of exhortation, do-democracy is based on the *creation of situations*. The difference between these two approaches is illustrated in our changing attitude toward juvenile delinquency. We are beginning to realize that to tell youngsters to be good will not make them good. Abandoning our naive reliance on exhortation, we have come to see that juvenile delinquency can be reduced if a satisfying environment is created for youth. The method of do-democracy involves the creation of opportunities for participation and co-operation by a large number of individuals. The next chapter will discuss this method in detail.

Do-democracy is impossible without a practical outlook. For neither action nor our inner potentialities can be realized on an abstract and verbal level. If we commit the mistake of thinking of democracy as only an abstract ideal, then there is not much we can do about it. For action always occurs in a concrete situation. Do-democracy requires that we look upon our task as a meeting of specific problems which we have to solve one by one. Every situation where people get together has its problems. If we concern ourselves with such problems our actions will be significant, and democracy a living process of flesh, blood and bone.

In order to illustrate talk, consent, and do-democracy, let us look at three different types of citizens:

Louis is a man who talks a great deal about democracy and loudly acclaims his belief in its ideals. He is proud of his idealism and takes every opportunity to affirm it. But

it never occurs to him that his ideals are nothing but words, since he does not apply them to his daily life, and never translates his views into action.

Frank is conscious of world problems and is deeply concerned about them. Every day he gets upset by events in Europe or Asia. He continually attends big meetings where people listen, agree, disagree, and generally become agitated. In his anxiety about the future of democracy, Frank buys bonds and contributes to other campaigns. He often writes to his Congressman and takes local and national elections seriously. Frank is realistic enough to realize the need for action but on the whole he does not get much beyond the stage of talking about the necessity of action, and urging others to act. The will to be a useful citizen is not lacking in Frank but he fails to recognize the variety of opportunities to participate which lie at his feet.

John is a different sort. Though he has the same feelings and attitudes as Frank, he looks at his role in a different light. He sees the frustration that comes from worrying about the problems of the world about which he cannot do anything directly. Thus, *besides* discharging his duties of voting, writing to his Congressman and buying bonds, he lends his energies to the solution of problems where his will and intelligence can be of direct consequence. By joining with like-minded practical persons, he is able to get things done. In his community he succeeds in organizing an effective community council which is able to handle the problems of salvage and civilian defense. He also gets together with his associates in the small war plant where he works in order to create more satisfactory relations between the workers and managers of his firm. John's activities involve action of the whole personality, not just the lower jaw.

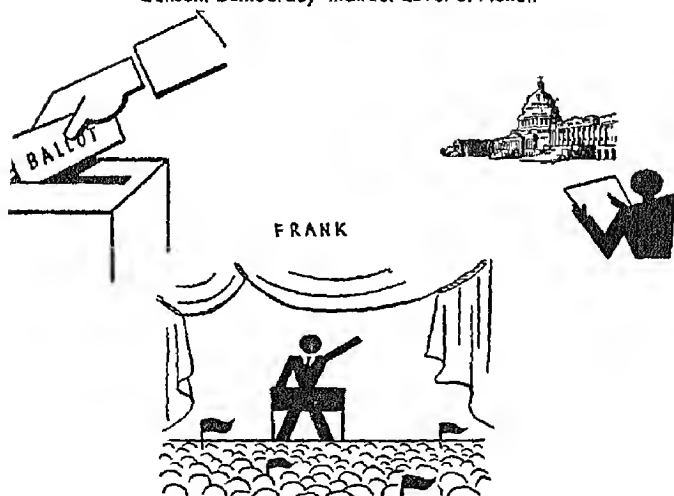
THREE KINDS OF DEMOCRACY

Talk Democracy Purely Verbal and Abstract Level



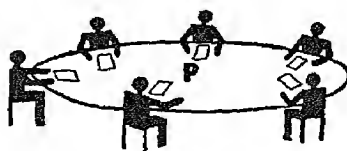
LOUIS

Consent-Democracy Indirect Level of Action



FRANK

Do Democracy Direct Level of Action



JOHN

DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION:

The task of democratic integration is to deal with disintegrating institutions and to transform authoritarian institutions into democratic ones

Some of our institutions reflect the prevailing tendency toward disintegration. They are full of internal weakness. Often they are just institutional shells which cover up incoherence, confusion, and disintegration. On the other hand some of our institutions—corporations, political parties, schools, labor unions, etc.—have too much of the authoritarian in them. Power is concentrated and control is exercised at the top, action being taken without opportunities for those concerned to have any say about it. Thus, we tend to be democratic in words, but authoritarian in acts.

In such institutions we have too much “power-over,” rather than “power-with.” These institutions are mechanistic. This tendency toward mechanization, rigidity, and authority results in institutional hardening of arteries. The older institutions get, the more likely they are to be formalized and uninspired. It is an everlasting struggle to keep institutions from becoming “institutionalized.”

The methods of consent-democracy are ineffective when faced with the task of integration and the transformation of authoritarian institutions into truly democratic ones. On the other hand, do-democracy makes not only action but integration and such transformation, possible.

Consent-democracy often treats the individual as an abstraction, an isolated being representing votes. It is interested in an arithmetic problem: majorities. But the registering of opinions, which is an additive process, cannot lead to integration. On the other hand, do-democracy does not think of individuals as crude numbers but seeks to unify them. *Participation, bringing people together,*

creates integration. As M. P. Follett pointed out the aim of conference is integration, rather than compromise. Consent-democracy, on the other hand, is based on balance and compromise; the representative assembly and the party system have these as aims.

Neither is consent-democracy an efficient solution for making hierarchical organization less authoritarian. The mere right of the worker to vote once in awhile on some matters in the factory, of the pupil to vote in the student council, of the citizen to vote for a party, will not make any of these persons an effective participant.

Do-democracy, based on genuine participation, leads to a type of organization where there is a place for the creative activity of all. Organization from above tends to be authoritarian while organization from within tends to be democratic, relying on the free interplay of the participants. *The warm, personal, satisfying human relationships that develop when men join together in groups has the power to change the spirit and form of the artificial up-down-system that makes so many of our institutions so formal and verbal.*

It is not the size but the prevalent internal structure of large institutions which is wrong. If decentralization is combined with co-ordination, bigness and impersonality—which are great threats to democracy—will not be such grave problems. Groups are the bases of such decentralization. Such groups are centers of integration for they enable the average man to participate in something big: pupil in education, citizen in government, worker in industry, and so forth. Participation will lead to a more democratic organization. It would gradually lessen the sharp separation between teacher and pupil, government official and citizen, and manager and laborer.

The impetus and initiative for action must come from the individuals themselves. Integration cannot be imposed

from above. It has not much to do with appropriations or legislation by Congress. Social structure is not something outside and above, but is simply the name we give to the multitudes of man-to-man relationships.

You are probably impatient by now and say: "Well, this is all very nice. But to talk about do-democracy is still just talk. What can *I* do and how?"

Most of us today have a vague feeling that something ought to be done by us. But it is all so big. The individual so easily gets lost in the maze of complicated problems and issues of the day. The term "society" overwhelms and discourages us. We feel so hopeless when confronted by "society" as a whole.

But society, as we have agreed, is the result of the interaction of individuals and groups. None of us are really members of society, rather we are members of groups; our family, profession, club, and church. *Since the health of the whole is determined by the health of the parts, what you do in your immediate environment will help the total situation.* Since your family, business and community are a part of the nation, what you do to build democracy there, will spread and ramify. As far as you are concerned, the confusion and disintegration from which the world suffers starts right where you are. Instead of looking elsewhere, why not look within our institutions, within our communities? To do this is to be practical and realistic, like John.

Your actions will be significant because by your action or inaction, you are a factor for integration or disintegration. If we concentrate on building satisfactory human relationships close at hand, we will be able to see ourselves as an integral part of the whole of society. All that any of us can do is to meet his own problems, which includes helping others to meet their problems too. If we do this, we will see the specific ways in which we are related to

each other in an endless variety of social groups, how these small groups are interrelated to make a cluster of groups, how such group of groups are further interrelated to make those social constellations which we call communities, cities, states and nations.

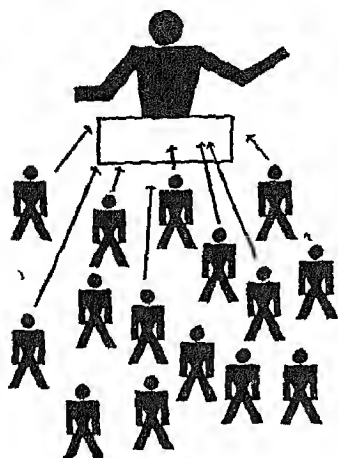
The most important of all groups are the primary groups, which are characterized by face-to-face relationships. The family, the playground, the club, the workshop are examples of such groups which are to society what the cells are to the body. Society is made up of such social units—small groups, for an individual in isolation is a biological entity, not a social unit. Henry, Joe and Bill are not social units. But as a group, interacting with each other, they form a social unit. The smallest unit is two people, such as man and wife. If you discard the common notion that society is made up of individuals and think of yourself as effective in society only as a member of groups, you will be a long way toward understanding the basic theme of this book.

We have approached the study of society by concentrating attention on individuals and the crowds into which they conglomerate. We have paid relatively less attention to the structure and function of small groups. Somewhere between the lone individual trying to work out his own destiny and a large crowd listening to talk is the small group, in which we can find a device for solving some of the problems which baffle us.

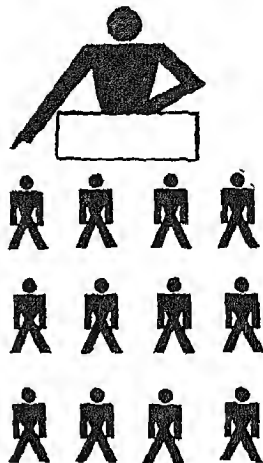
Individuals belong to small groups, the groups to larger organizations. Effective large organizations are made of federations of small groups. The better the small groups function, the more they will solve problems, the more they will be the network around which integration can be achieved. In big institutions the relations between members grow less intense, as a rubber band gets thinner when stretched, so the individual's relation to the whole is not

BASIC UNITS OF DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION SMALL GROUPS

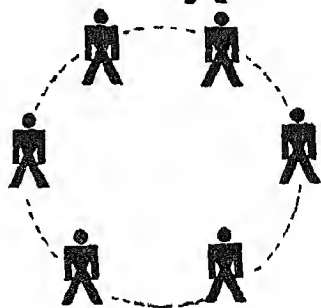
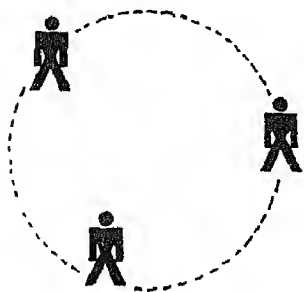
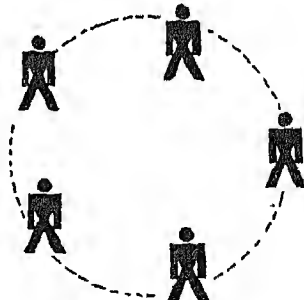
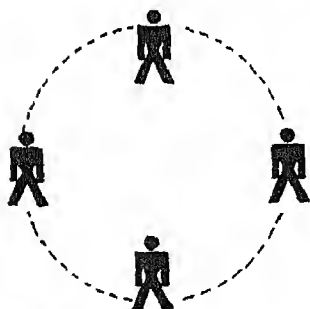
Talk-Democracy Is Based on
Crowd Listening



Authoritarian Social Structure
Is Based on Obeying



Democratic Social Structure Is Based on Action by Small Groups



close. But if these big institutions are organized around smaller groups, then participation will be made possible, and relations between individuals will be creative and satisfying.

The formless crowd encourages talk-democracy, while the small group is the basic unit and generating power of do-democracy. The crowd is too large for discussion and action. There is too much excitement present in the crowd and no real opportunity for facing problems. In contrast, the small group stimulates synthesis of ideas and purposes and produces consequent action. These are basic principles of human psychology which must be recognized as powerful democratic weapons.

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Chapter 3

THE METHOD. BUILDING PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUPS

A GENERAL METHOD

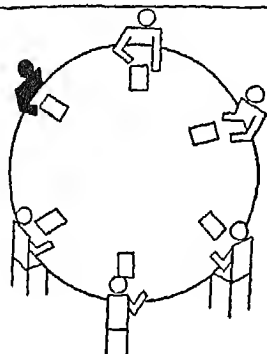
The method of do-democracy is the building and using of problem-centered-groups. This chapter will discuss the structure of such groups, the chapters that follow will illustrate their application.

A general method of meeting the problems of our society is naturally not a panacea or patent medicine. The problems are of infinite variety no two are the same. Hence there can be no one solution. What we need is not a universal solution, but an infinitely adaptable way of working out solutions of infinitely varying problems.

A good example of an infinitely adaptable general method is the adage: "Look before you leap." You are not told what to look for. You are not told when and where or how to leap. These variables depend on circumstances and on you. The general method, which the adage states, has to do with the general orientation before you act. It asserts a relationship between looking and leaping. It specifies an invariable order of the two steps involved: look and leap.

The nature and limitations of the general method are further illustrated by the admonition: "Keep your eye on the ball," which applies to games involving the use of a ball. This general method, however useful and adaptable, is no substitute for effort, skill, endurance and resourcefulness. It takes more than just keeping your eye on the ball

INDIVIDUALS CHANGE, PROBLEMS CHANGE, BUT THE AGELESS
SMALL GROUP GOES ON



1940
John Smith in Conference

1620
Chief Big Feather
"in conference"



Stone Age
Ug "in conference"

to win games. Nevertheless, no matter how much personal energy you expend, if you fail to follow the general method: "Keep your eye on the ball," you will be a failure in all ball games. The general method has to do with this relationship between the players and the ball. The method is sound in that it involves the co-ordination of the total organism of the player with the moving ball. *The method, being basic, cannot be successfully ignored.*

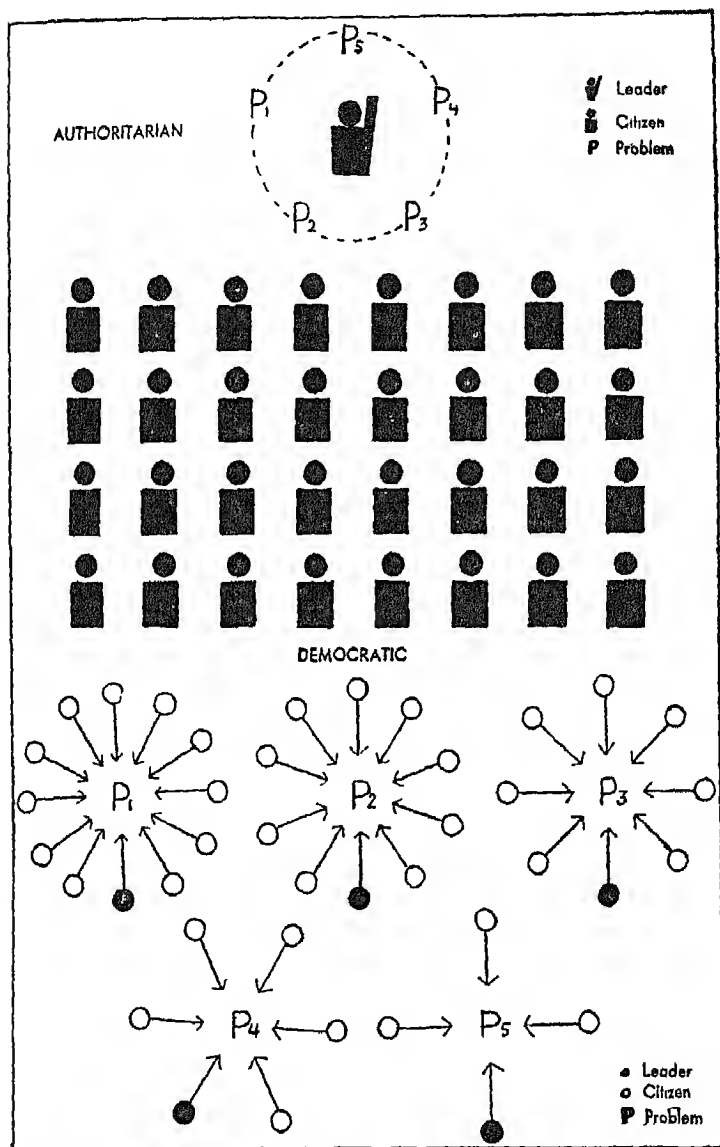
THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP:

The problem-centered-group is an old idea. Four hundred years ago Indians gathered to divide up a deer they had killed. It was a problem-centered-group—direct, personal, unwritten, and informal. They did the natural, normal thing: got together on the spot and worked out the problem of dividing the deer. Maybe the aborigines were smart. Maybe we who are "civilized" could learn something from them about human relations. Maybe we have overdone standardizing, formalizing, and mechanizing.

It will take more, of course, than building problem-centered-groups to stop the process of disintegration and create effective democracy. But since such groups are basic units of society, and not only make the solution of problems possible but allow participation on the part of many individuals, it is essential that they be built.

1. The size of the problem-centered-group varies, depending on conditions. There is reason to believe, however, that for most purposes a group of ten or twelve is the most efficient. A bigger group becomes unwieldy, a smaller one ineffective. The optimum group is probably around twelve, from the point of view of effective action, possibility of consensus, intensity of face-to-face contact, and maximum individual participation. Jesus Christ's choice of

DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL STRUCTURE VERSUS AUTHORITARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE



twelve disciples is an important example of the power of a group of this size. A business, labor, or civic organization that puts ten or a dozen people in each department or on each committee is acting wisely.

2. *The problem-centered-group is democratic in structure; it leads to the preservation of the integrity of the individual, nourishes his productive powers, and encourages participation. This structure is flexible, informal, stimulating and creative, with participant leadership.*

In contrast, the authoritarian social structure is rigid, formal, regimented, hierarchical, noncreative, and frustrating to the individual, with "leadership" from the top down. This structure can be found in many of our prevailing institutions. Many an organization never has within it a creative group of optimum size. Common though it be, such organization of human power is wasteful and inefficient. It fails to release latent human power.

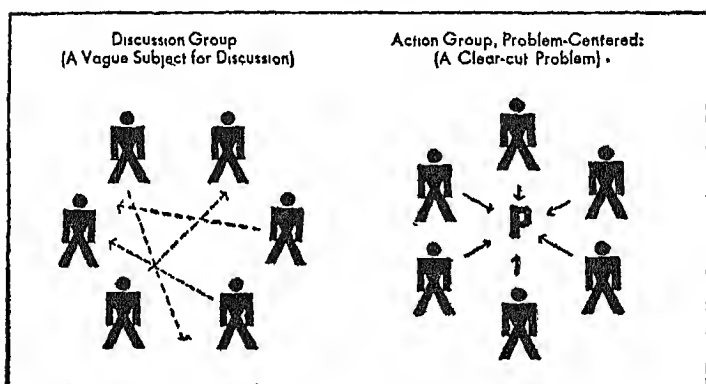
3. In small groups the individual is not lost. He counts for something. He gives and takes, and participates in a genuinely creative process. More significant things can be accomplished by a team of ten or twelve persons than by the individual members separately. The whole is more than the sum of its parts. A secondhand bicycle when assembled, becomes a means of transportation; a new Cadillac, scattered in parts in a garage, is not. The "moreness" in this case is transportation. The whole, assembled, functions; the parts, unassembled, do not.

The result of group deliberation is not produced by a process of addition, but by a fusion of thought. It is said that if I give you a dollar and you give me a dollar, we shall each have one dollar. If, however, I give you an idea and you give me an idea, we shall each have two ideas.

Before Sidney Webb and Beatrice Potter were married, they wrote letters to each other as engaged couples often do. In one of the letters Sidney Webb raised the question

whether one and one make two. He pointed out to his future wife that, in proper relation to each other, one and one make not two, but eleven. Note the qualification—"in proper relation to each other." To make eleven, one and one must stand together, must form a spiritual unity. The great books written jointly by the British social scientists, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, after their marriage, suggest that in their case one and one actually did make eleven.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE USUAL DISCUSSION GROUP AND THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP



4. One of the most important features of the problem-centered-group is that in the "center" there is a problem. *Problem-centers are stimulating and challenging. They call forth latent energies, releasing suppressed powers of individuals.*

We are all familiar with the type of organization which has a program on child welfare one month, on education the next, on world peace the third month. The general effect is superficial and smattering. Much is said, little happens. Members feel, even if they do not openly admit, the futility of it all. Many persons who slip away from speeches and endless discussions of miscellaneous social

problems, might become useful do-democrats if they would direct their energies to specific ends, each in accord with his own particular interest. It is well to be skeptical when someone speaks of the apathy of the average citizen. There are, as M. P. Follett pointed out, few absolutely apathetic citizens, for nearly everyone has his interest and problems, and at those points his attention and energy can be counted on. The very thing which makes the method most powerful is the fact that it does not depend on a revision of human nature for its success. The problem-centered-group provides a way to utilize our selfish interests to produce altruistic results.

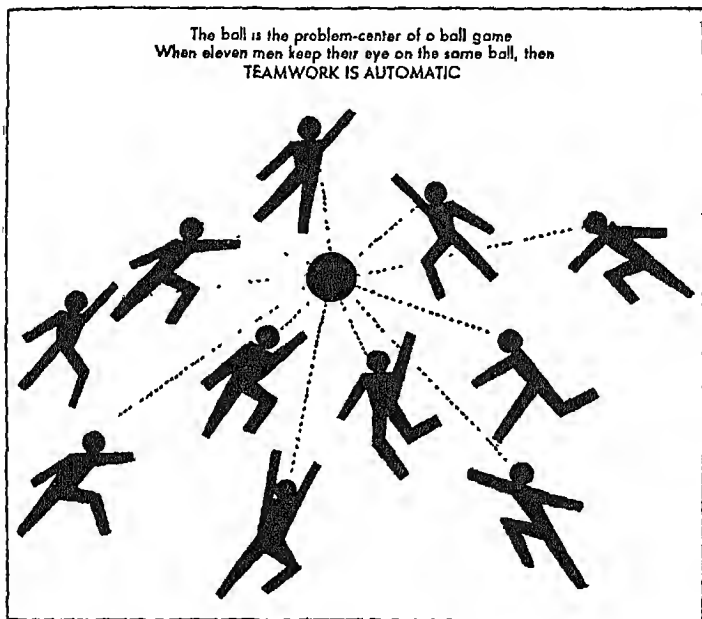
The first requirement for group action is the definition of the problem. According to John Dewey, thinking begins with a recognized difficulty. "To be aware of the problem is a condition of taking steps toward its solution." The effectiveness of group action is related closely to the sharpness and clearness with which the problem is defined. *Thinking in terms of specific problems is a prerequisite of action.* We often attempt too much and get discouraged by not being able to accomplish anything. We then complain of the slowness of the democratic process.

Often what we call problems are not problems at all. Instead, they are "problem areas." *These have to be broken down into specific problems, so that they can be dealt with one at a time.* Imagine a ball game in which ten or twenty balls were being tossed around the field. One player would have his eye on one ball, one on another. Thus there would be no co-ordination, no teamwork, only confusion. This happens all too often with committees and groups. They try to play with several balls (problems) at once. They do not center attention on one.

The fact that there be *only one* ball is highly important. When a player keeps his eye on the ball, his mental-muscular co-ordination is automatic. When several players

in different positions keep their eye on the same ball, teamwork becomes automatic. Thus the problem (ball) must be specific, clear-cut, and understood by the members (players) of the group (team).

"KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE BALL"



The problem-centered-group creates a situation which automatically elicits response and participation. It does not exhort persons to "pull together," it does not preach "co-operation." A well-stoked engine will not work without the match that ignites the fuel. The match is the agent which releases pent-up energy which lies dormant. Such an agent in human relations may well be the problem-centered-group.

5. In order to make possible the greatest concentration on specific problems, we must create an environment

favorable to participation. The importance of having the right number of people and the right social environment created by a democratic social structure has been shown, but the physical environment is also important.

The design of schools, churches, city halls, factories, office buildings and homes will change greatly as we penetrate more deeply into the mysteries of human relations. Consider, for instance, what will happen to the architecture of schools. The top part of the diagram called: "Democratic Social Structure versus Authoritarian Social Structure," would nicely serve as the usual arrangement of teacher and children in a schoolroom. Seats are in rows, the teacher is up in front, telling children what to do.

As the other portion of the diagram suggests, the circle, rather than a rectangle, is the formation of democratic togetherness. A committee which meets around a rectangular table, with a gavel-wielding chairman at the end, has two strikes on it before it starts. Such an arrangement is spiritually authoritarian, it impedes spontaneity, it blocks the reaching of a genuine consensus. It somewhat improves the situation to have the leader in the middle, as is Jesus in Leonardo da Vinci's "The Last Supper," which pictures one of the most potent small groups ever assembled. It is still better to have a round table that is really round. The symbolic and psychological importance of meeting around a circular table is enormous.

Worse even than the rectangular committee table is the ordinary assembly room wherein chairs are arranged in rows, screwed to the floor, either physically or figuratively, with a raised platform in front for the speaker, leader or chairman. We are so accustomed to this arrangement that we do not realize what an antisocial symbol of authoritarianism it is.

Recently a friend of mine spoke to a small meeting of delegates of the associated clubs of a community, which

was held in the basement of the local branch of the public library. The room reflected the spiritual authoritarianism of architecture. It had a platform up in front, rows of seats and an aisle in the middle. Individuals straggled in and scattered themselves glumly around the back and the edges of the room. Human beings express resentment against a regimented arrangement by taking back seats. In so doing they say to themselves "Well, you got me into this room, but you are not going to get me to take part." Thus, notwithstanding that it was supposed to be a chummy meeting of neighbors and friends, the togetherness in this meeting was almost zero.

My friend commented on the folly of permitting so many artificial obstacles to impede an effort to get together for common thought and action, a process which is difficult enough under favorable circumstances. Two months later the leader of the group wrote to him saying: "We have changed to a circular arrangement in our meetings and it works much better. We get closer together and talk more freely."

Thus we have seen that the distinctive features of the problem-centered-group are five.

Its size is about a dozen.

Its structure is democratic.

It creates a fusion of thought.

It puts the problem in the "center."

It meets around a round table.

The significance of the problem-centered-group is manifold. It creates integration by encouraging participation, which has important psychological consequences for the participating individuals.

Vital attachments are created only in the intimacy of close association, where everyone can take part and have

his say. The problem-centered-group generates new dynamics, inspiring confidence, encouraging self-respect, and building morale. Persons who are discouraged alone find ways of working together for mutual benefit. Useful activity, helping others as well as oneself, puts a spring in the step, a glint in the eye.

When people work together, helping each other, they grow rapidly in their willingness and power to accept responsibility. In fact, the word "responsibility" is not a word that implies lone living, rugged individualism, or self-centered thinking. Its root is the word "response," implying mutuality, interrelationships. It suggests not a lone individual but an individual conscious of, and responding to, the needs of the situation. Our craving for togetherness and belongingness is an evidence of our instinctive recognition of the fact that the fullness of individualism depends on the fullness of relationships with others. *Too many self-centered individuals create disintegration. Whatever brings individuals together creates integration.*

The problem-centered-group opens the way to action—do-democracy—by providing a method of meeting problems. To repeat, as things stand today, we have too many words unrelated to action. The transition from talk-democracy to do-democracy can be achieved by the use of problem-centered-groups. Opportunities for do-democracy abound: children and parents participating in education, workers in industry, citizens in government and so forth. Through such participation we evolve better educational institutions, more satisfying relations in industry, and more efficient government.

By uniting individuals in active groups we will stimulate them to work productively on many practical problems of importance to all individuals, real problems arising from real needs. Naturally, these problem-centered-groups are nowhere as clear-cut, symmetrical, and uniform as they

appear on the charts. Like all human relationships, they cannot remain static. Some are so short-lived that they last only for a few minutes, some last for years. Individuals shift from one to another as problems change, participating in a number of problem-centered-groups through the course of a single day.

Thus far, we have seen how do-democracy can help to combat the disintegration which characterizes our world by leading to action and participation. The problem-centered-group has been recognized as the method of do-democracy and its features have been described. This leaves the challenge squarely at our door. *Breeding such groups to meet everyday problems and changing the nature of existing institutions by building problem-centered-groups within, must be our task.* Each of us has a small but important part in building the tremendously complex maze of human relationships which is social structure. To get what we want out of this complicated life of ours, we must join with others in giving and taking. Our lives must involve continuous participation in organized activities.

Part II is an attempt to satisfy the "man from Missouri" who insists on saying. "Show me!" The applications which will be given, grew out of concrete situations and actual experience. They will show how the common man can participate personally and creatively in the ongoing stream of living:

the citizen in community life,
 the member in his organization;
 the citizen in government,
 the student in education;
 the layman in art;
 the reader in writing,
 the worker in industry,
 etc., etc.

PART II

THE APPLICATION OF THE METHOD

Chapter 4

COMMUNITY

DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME

For most of us the opportunity to participate in democratic processes is not in Washington, but where we are, in our communities. The community is a closely prescribed area, a tangible and visible environment where we are in close association with others. We must find more ways of bringing those with common interest together effectively for the improvement of community activities.

The community movement has a long and proud tradition in the United States. It was particularly active after the conclusion of World War I, and the present crisis, calling upon every community to do its part, has given it new impetus today. Some important problems of the war—civilian defense, scrap iron and rubber shortages, community health, mobilization of manpower—have been laid at the community's doorstep and given rise to the slogan, "Defense Begins on Main Street."

It is vital that we keep active the local mechanisms we have developed to handle these problems and not depend too much on Washington in the war crisis. In times like the present, when acceleration of action demands centralization, the community movement is of increased impor-

tance. The trend toward centralization can be counterbalanced to some extent by a dynamic community life. Action in the community, involving the constructive contribution of many individuals, is a necessity. The "let George do it" (or rather "let Uncle Sam do it") attitude will not get us anywhere. *Whether in war or peace, Washington can do only a part of the work to be done to meet our problems; we in our communities have to do the other part.*

Through democratic communities we will be able to recapture some of the spirit of the New England town hall democracy, where people got together in face-to-face relationships to manage their affairs. It has been the contention of many political theorists that democracy can best work in a small community or nation. Aristotle maintained that democracy can be successful only in a city with a small population. By concentrating on the community, we will be able to create a favorable atmosphere for the functioning of democracy. We will also be able to help to bring about integration, for a network of dynamic communities is really what makes up an integrated society.

THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP WITHIN ASSOCIATIONS

Community action takes place through associations in which all of us can participate. No nation in the world is as full of associations, clubs, and organizations as is the United States, which was remarked by the famous visiting Frenchman, de Tocqueville, as early as 1835. Freedom from a paternalistic government and official church made this possible.

These associations are an ideal proving ground for the problem-centered-group method. With it, we will be in a position to (1) deal with specific problems in the community, (2) make existing associations function better,

(3) achieve co-operation between various associations by working out an organized network of problem-centered-groups.

1. Each of us should concern himself with finding a phase of activity in the community which commands his honest interest. Let us not be heroic about it. Seek something which affects you, in which success means betterment for yourself and others. Find those among your friends who share this interest. There is no necessity to become a social reformer or even step widely from your regular routine of life, but you can use the dynamics of personal contact plus common interest to produce action which will make your life and that of the community more sound and creative.

Just such technique has been effectively applied to the problem of juvenile delinquency by the personnel of a police station in a Chicago district. One or two evenings each week, parents, police officials, and boys meet to talk over things informally with the probation officer of the juvenile court. Without duress and without formal routine, they solve problems in which law, adolescence, and parental authority are tangled. Most cases are settled in a spirit of fairness, frankness, common sense, and intelligence. It is interesting to note that for years boys from this area of Chicago were noticeably absent from the reform school. The method of preventing or ironing out trouble is in large part responsible for this fact.

Often it is the parents, rather than the juveniles, who need most of the handling. One evening an irate father came in, loudly denouncing the officer who had picked up his son for reckless driving. "My boy was not speeding!" he asserted. The probation officer told the father to take it calmly, called in the officer who made the arrest, and they sat down to talk the matter over. It turned out that the boy had been weaving in and out of traffic on the main

street with his friends riding on fenders. The officer suggested that they stop. They did not do so. When one of the boys on the fender started to ride standing up, the officer stopped them and told the driver to come in with his father for the evening session.

Hearing the story from the officer, the father asked the boy if it were true. The boy admitted sheepishly that it was. Then the father was even more indignant, this time because he had made a fool of himself. "I'll stop him. He'll never have the car again!" he shouted. "Now hold on," the probation officer replied, realizing that a swing from extreme parental indulgence to one of extreme repression would not solve the problem. Discussion continued until a solution was reached that took into consideration youth's urge for adventure, parental authority, and the local traffic.

Specifically the setting up of a problem-centered-group requires the following steps:

- a. Definition of the problem: *What* it is. To do this we must "problem-center" the issue under consideration. This can be done by persons who have some knowledge of it.
- b. After the problem has been specified and understood, the next step is to find out *How* to deal with it.
- c. *Who* should do what is the third step involved. The problem under consideration may be complex and require numerous actions, to be carried out by persons most qualified.

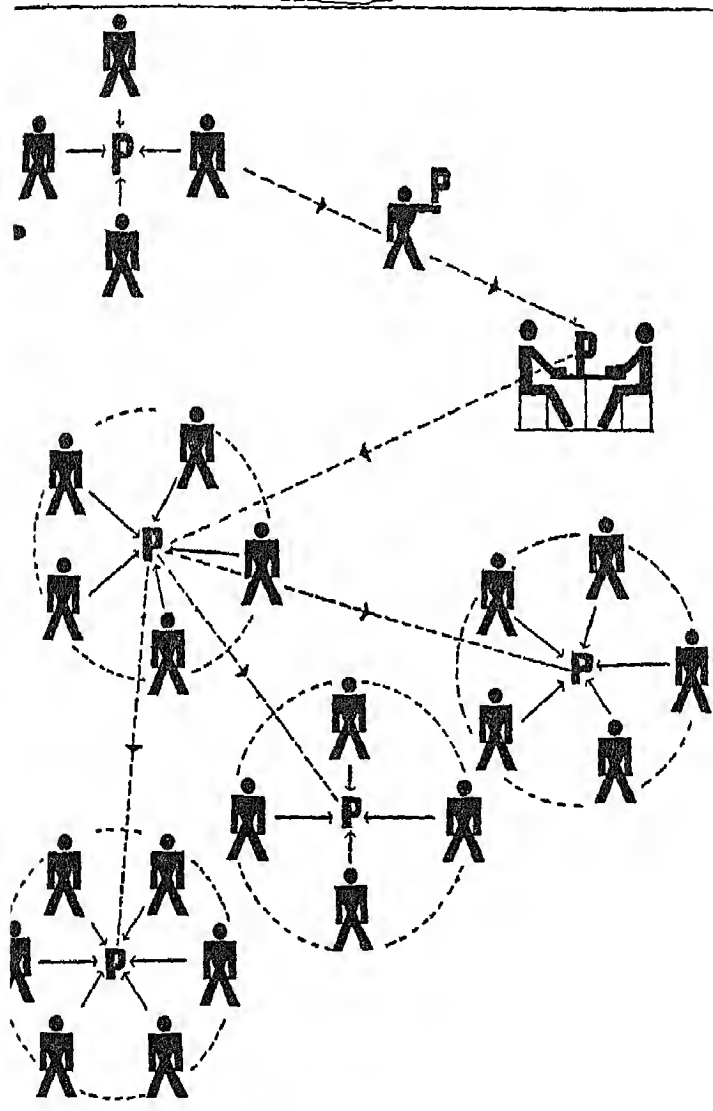
An illustration of the setting up of a problem-centered-group with the help of the *What*, *How* and *Who* formula is the following situation. Most of our schools offer only an inadequate treatment of civics in their curriculum. The pupils receive cursory instruction on government, but are not prepared for participation in civic life. Let us suppose that several members of your community become

aware of this problem and decide to do something about it.

One of the interested citizens goes over to the local principal and civic teachers, who agree to meet with a group of citizens to discuss the problem. Out of their deliberation the following aspects of the general problem of lack of civic education emerge. (a) Some school-teachers do not sufficiently realize the necessity of such education; (b) those who do, do not use modern methods of teaching civics, (c) the civics teachers feel that there are no adequate textbooks, and (d) the principal and the teachers have difficulty in fitting various civics activities into the general curriculum.

Thus what appeared to be one problem, has been broken into sub-problems that can be dealt with seriatim. The general discussion seems to impress upon the teachers present the necessity of improved civic education. It is agreed that the principal will call similar meetings with other teachers to make this clear. Thus sub-problem (a) is dealt with. One of the persons present mentions that he knows a teacher at another school who has delved into modern methods of teaching civics, and who should be consulted. The group agrees that the principal should invite this teacher to meet with him and the teachers of civics and social studies. Thus sub-problem (b) is taken care of by the creation of another small group around a specific problem. To deal with sub-problem (c) the group asks one of the teachers present to get in touch with publishers of civics textbooks so as to find more suitable teaching material, and to consult the central school authorities. The group feels that they are not in a position to deal with sub-problem (d): the difficulty of fitting civics activities into the curriculum. Since this is a matter for the principal and teachers to settle, it is suggested to the principal that he create another problem-centered-group to meet this issue.

HOW ONE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP LEADS TO THE
CREATION OF SEVERAL PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUPS



The approach described above will bring better results than drawing up petitions to the school authorities protesting against the lack of civic education, or writing letters to the local newspaper deploring the situation.

One group leads to the creation of several groups. The relationships between the individuals who have co-operated to solve the problems of civics teaching will grow and will be carried over into other fields. They become friends, organize other groups in new formations around other problems, creating a stronger social network in the community. The success of their relationship facilitates further co-operation. The momentum gathered will help them to go on further in their attempt to deal with practical problems.

2. The method, besides serving to locate and deal with problems, can make existing organizations in a community function better. Many an organization deals with problems which are vague and not the immediate concern of the members. Such organizations have only the externals—letterheads, directors, committees—but are unable to act. New vitality can be instilled into such organizations; standing committees which drag on can be snapped into action by the application of the problem-centered-group method.

As things are today, most standing committees of community organizations simply stand. *But if there is some specific job to be done, and interested persons would face it, action will follow.* The application of the method would radically alter the existing nature of most organizations. It would mean that members of organizations would be mobilized around specific problems. Formalities of structure and procedure, debating, mass meetings would become relatively less important.

3. To deal with the complex issues of the community, it is necessary to co-ordinate the activities of many organ-

izations. This usually means that some organization calls a general meeting where representatives of associations make speeches about what a fine thing co-operation is. Such a body is unwieldy: it has to be broken down into small units for real work, just as a legislative body is broken down into functional committees.

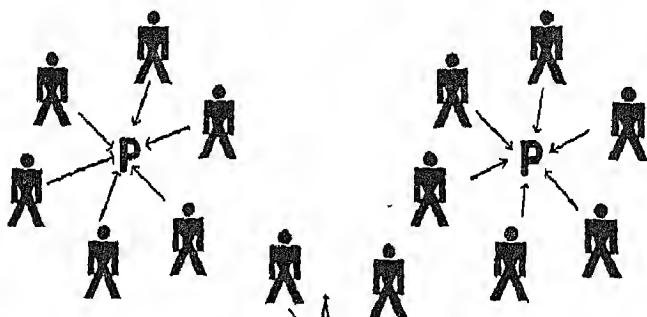
What is needed is to work out a clear division of labor between co-operating organizations, each of which would concern itself with that aspect of a job to be done for which it is best fitted. Thus again, it is necessary to break down the general problem into specific ones so that each group can assume responsibility for one aspect of the entire task. What has been said of the *What*, *How*, and *Who* formula is applicable to the community as a whole.

I know of a situation where extraordinary effort was required to get a branch library in the community. Several persons got together and resolved to enlist the co-operation of every possible force in the community. In the community meeting that was called together some were delegates of organizations and institutions, others were only individuals living in the community. The general problem of getting a library was divided into many specific aspects. Each individual or group was assigned to the kind of work it could do best. All the resources of the community, from the lowest social strata to the highest, were utilized. One took the responsibility for getting the printing done, another passed the petitions from house to house, while others compiled names for a mailing list. Some got their organizations to pass resolutions; others made representations at the central library board. Everyone got to work right away, and soon construction on the branch library was begun.

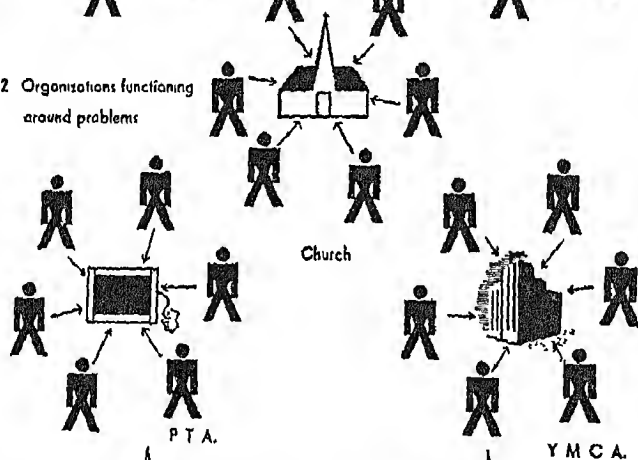
The widespread application of the method along the three lines indicated will lead to a dynamic community life. Increased emphasis on community activity will lead

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 4

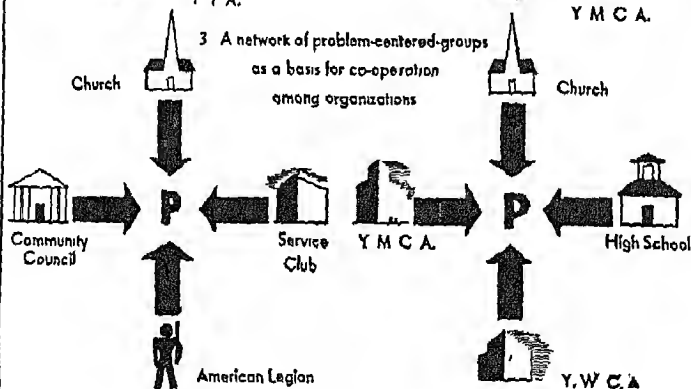
1. Getting together around specific problems in the community:



2. Organisations functioning around problems



3. A network of problem-centered-groups as a basis for co-operation among organizations



to the increased importance of community leaders and institutions. Some results will be:

- a. Local leadership will be vitalized.
- b. Community newspapers, edited by men who are thinkers and leaders, will find increased opportunities to co-ordinate local activities.
- c. Local small business will benefit by increased community interest and new personal relationships.
- d. Labor union officials will find more opportunities to take part in community affairs.
- e. Public schools will have a chance to become community centers.
- f. Churches would likewise have a better chance to become more integrated with the life of the community. Like schools, many churches have physical properties that are closed or only half used much of the time.
- g. Branch libraries might well become the cultural centers of the community.

Chapter 5

GOVERNMENT

PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT THROUGH ADVISORY COMMITTEES

New ways for citizen participation in government must be developed. Between the individual citizen and the political authority there is too much vacuum. As things now stand most citizens merely mark a ballot every year or two. If all that he does is to stand on the sidelines and once in a while shout "Booh!" or "Attaboy!", he is likely to become indifferent, a condition which makes him an accessory to callous selfishness in some public servants.

To supplement the established doctrine of consent by a creative doctrine of participation, we need mechanisms for co-operation between citizens and officials. One of the best mechanisms is that of advisory committees: small groups of citizens getting together with administrative officials around common problems. The citizens who serve on such advisory committees, working directly with officials, have an opportunity to do something more than to mark an X on a ballot. *Through a network of advisory groups of optimum size, opportunities for a large number of citizens to participate directly in government could be opened up.*

Each citizen could serve where his interest and talents lead him. Service on such advisory groups would not only help public officials, but would also provide a realistic training in civic competence for hundreds of people. The opportunity for participation in government is an appeal-

ing one for the average citizen, for he feels satisfaction in the knowledge that he has an active part in the administration which affects him.

Moreover, many officials of government would like to do a better job of serving the people than is possible under the existing condition of citizen apathy. Such officials, like other human beings, respond to sympathetic interest. In many cases, they will welcome the kind of co-operation that will help them to do a better job, and to resist pressures to do things which are against the public interest.

Advisory participation of the common man with the official or the expert does not detract from administrative responsibility. Rather it makes responsibility fuller, by making it more responsive. Consulting committees will enable the officials to discuss their problems of administration with citizens. By its very nature a political organization is sensitive to citizen interest and activity. The creation of a network of advisory committees would bring citizen opinion into the picture more significantly. Without them, the suggestions, information, and resources of citizens have no organized channel through which they may reach the officials who are in charge of administration.

These committees must be informal, they can deal personally with officials. They will attract practical individuals who care little about civic work in general, but who are willing to go to work in earnest on some problem in which they have a live interest. In order to insure the effectiveness of such advisory groups, it is necessary to avoid (a) spasmodic activity, which flares up for awhile and then dies down; (b) detached criticism, which views from afar what officials do, complains about it, but refuses to get together for personal co-operation to make things better, (c) too much reliance on busybody citizens who go to many meetings, listen to many talks, but never work long enough to see one thing through.

Opportunities for such advisory committees are legion. Some of the most effective ones will be in the communities. They will be most potent there because they are close to the scene of the specific problems that arise out of the application of government policies. If, for example, each probation officer were to have an advisory committee in the area in which it operates—in the manner described in the previous chapter—juvenile delinquency would be dealt with more effectively and democratically. If every ward superintendent worked with an advisory committee of housewives and others, on the problem of garbage collection, efficiency of service would increase. If branch librarians had similar committees of library users, their work would be better and the library would be more of a community center. The school principal could serve his community better if he had his advisory committee, not as a propaganda device for telling the community how good his school is, but as a staff of co-workers.

The “let George do it” approach, which we often prefer, would be to send protests or hire an “expert” who would then spend a year or two studying each problem before making an elaborate report, while citizens patiently and idly awaited its appearance. A committee of citizens, taking off their coats and rolling up their shirt sleeves, might get the job done before the report was under way.

INTEGRATED DECENTRALIZATION

The scope and complexity of modern living impel us to build larger and larger organizations which tend to be rigid and somewhat authoritarian. At the same time, our urge for self-expression leads to rebellion against organizations so large and impersonal that our individuality is lost. Reconciling the necessity of centralization with the desirability of decentralization is one of our knottiest problems.

Extending the federal pattern of organization throughout our economic, social, and political structure is a partial solution.

Such organization permits each unit, small or large, to function as freely and self-sufficiently as possible in matters which pertain to it primarily. That function which the smaller unit cannot handle itself, the larger one takes over. What an individual can do for himself, let him do. What a small group can do for itself, let it do. What a neighborhood can do for itself, let it do. What a community can do for itself, let it do. Integrated decentralization recognizes the individuality of organizational units. It asks each to take responsibility for something "down its alley." At the same time, it recognizes interdependence, that various organizational units can and must help each other.

Government, whether Federal or local, is the organization of manpower for social ends. To build good government means to build sound social structure out of the working relationships between officials themselves and officials and the people, which are more important than administrative formalities. Administrative arrangements specified from national or state capitals tend to be formal, though, in human affairs, informal arrangements often work out the most satisfactorily.

When citizens have an opportunity to help in the carrying out of policies made in Washington, the results will be a more satisfied citizenry, and more effective policies as well. For the application of general policies needs local adaptations in a constantly changing world of unpredictable details. Local groups might not have the power to create national policies, but they can certainly help in carrying them out more effectively. For as Aristotle remarked, a citizen cannot make a shoe, but he knows when it fits him.

A decentralized administration will lend itself to the

extensive application of advisory committees, thus creating opportunities for participation along informal lines.

For some time certain agencies of the Federal government have encouraged citizen participation through decentralization. Several years ago the Department of Agriculture, believing that the farm policies ought to be initiated by the farmers, systematically worked out methods by which official-farmer co-operation becomes possible. M. L. Wilson, the director of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, summarized the characteristics of this plan in the following words:

General principles of agricultural democracy are decentralized local administration through farmer committeemen, the use of referenda in determining certain administrative policies, such as marketing quotas, the use of group discussion and adult education to promote intelligent participation in the administration of the various farm programs, cooperative planning in program formulation.

According to Director Wilson:

It is estimated that there are between 250,000 and 300,000 men and women who are members of the local and county committees having to do with activities and programs of one kind or another in which the Federal, State, or local government are involved.

Henry A. Wallace summarized the significance of such participation in his 1934 report as Secretary of Agriculture:

Farmers themselves largely administer the adjustment programs through county control associations. These bodies help to make as well as to administer adjustment policy. Thoroughly democratic in form and spirit, the associations are effective instruments in economic self-government. . . . In decentralizing administrative work, and at the same time creating new channels through which farmer opinion may find expression the Agricultural Adjustment Act promotes true democracy.

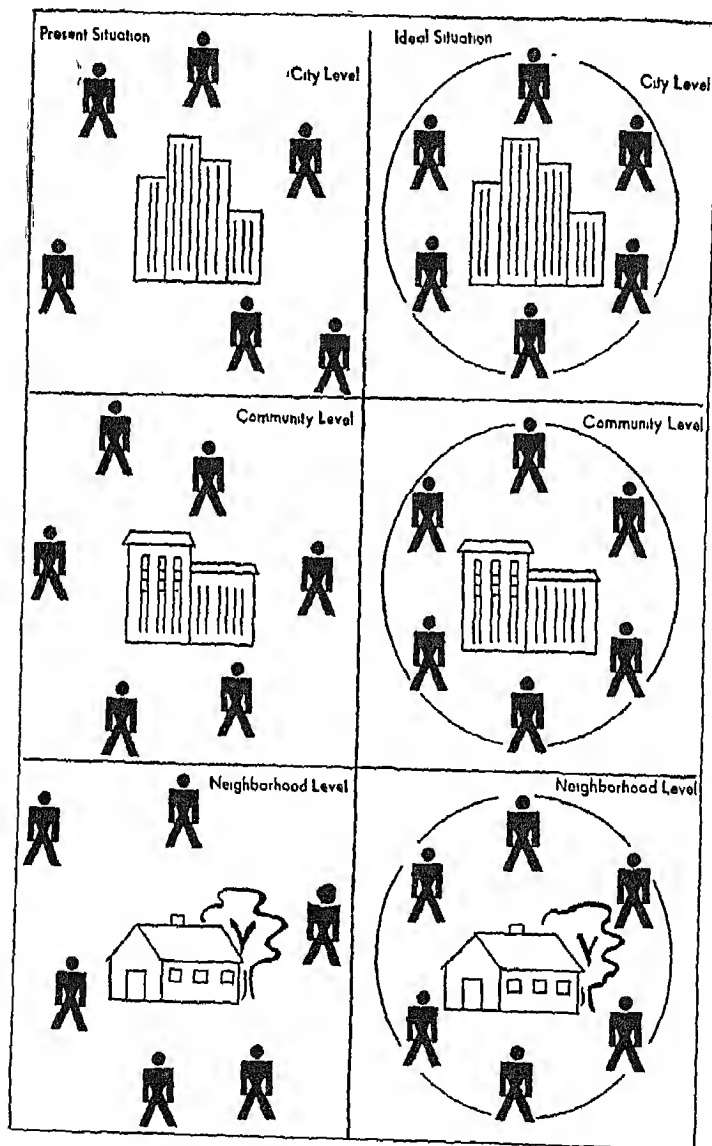
A few years ago the National Youth Administration initiated a program that was likewise based on the philosophy that democracy is something which people do together. Advisory committees were set up on several administrative levels in order to secure the co-operation and assistance of citizens, and this way carry out more effectively the program of N.Y.A. These committees advised and assisted in the formulation and carrying out of policies. The major aims were vitalizing community activity in meeting problems, when possible, on the level where they arise; giving youth an opportunity to participate in co-operative ventures to make their communities better places to live in; preventing a Federal agency from becoming too much isolated from the community in which it operates.

Chicago can serve as an example of how decentralization of city government would allow participation. Chicago, or any other big city, is a federation of many communities, fused and intertwined into a big metropolis. Sharp boundaries cannot be drawn, but the more closely the political structure of the city is related to the problems within this network of communities, the better. It is impossible for more than a fraction of the city's population to take part in the activities at the city's center. If thousands are to participate in government, it must be in their communities.

This is true of other organizations as well as governmental agencies. When organizations in the center of the city join with the multitude of community groups in concentrating attention on the problems of outlying localities, much can happen. The United Charities, which is one of the most thoroughly decentralized agencies in Chicago, is a case in point. Each of its ten operating districts has its own district superintendent. Each district superintendent has an advisory council of local citizens, with whom meetings are frequently held. Thus the United Charities be-

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 5

The Problem of Housing as an Example of Citizen Participation in Government



comes both participant and leader in community activities. These advisory councils differ widely, an indication that they are genuinely local in nature.

Participation in government through the device of advisory committees can be practiced in many fields of governmental activities and on various governmental levels. In the ideal situation there are no nonparticipating citizens; everybody applies his energy at the level where he can work best. It is most beneficial to apply specific efforts at the primary levels, in the neighborhood and the community, where problems appear in the see-hear-smell-touch form. The greater the participation at the bottom, where governmental services and citizens actually touch each other in daily life, the less need for participation at the top. *One reason why problems are bigger higher up is that they are not dealt with directly and effectively at the first and second level.* Some citizens who might be co-operating with public officials in the community are slumbering today. Others are floating around in a verbal sea, talking about what ought to be done, protesting that public officials do not do their duty, looking upward to the national or world problems (like our friend Frank), or viewing with alarm or indifference from comfortable remote higher levels the unpleasant low-level problems.

Such a theory of decentralization necessitates the creation of problem-centered-groups. By keeping in mind interrelationships between similar problems at different levels, and between various problems at each level, each of us will be able to see the *whole*, as well as to apply himself to that *part* where he can do most.

Chapter 6

EDUCATION, ART, AND LEISURE

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

There is no other way to educate our children for democracy than by giving them those experiences and attitudes which develop from democratic living in the classroom. It is a fatal mistake to believe that democratic education consists in merely teaching children some facts about our government and making them recite the Declaration of Independence.

This book emphasizes that democracy is more than a form of government, it is a kind of society resulting from an attitude of mind, and the spirit of action. Citizenship cannot be taught. It is a skill which must be acquired by constant practice; it is the attainment of certain attitudes and habits of action which make democratic living together possible. For maximum effectiveness, these attitudes and habits should be obtained at an early age, when we are more "plastic" and adaptable.

There is a real connection between democratic education and democracy, as there is between authoritarian education and dictatorship. The enemies of democracy are well aware of the close connection between a given kind of education and a given kind of society. The Nazis know that they could not stay in power unless the schools were authoritarian. That is why one of the first things they do after invading a country is to destroy whatever democratic education that country has. The Nazis have carried authoritarianism in education to an unbelievable degree. From

kindergarten on, the children are conditioned to blind obedience.

In some of our schools we practice authoritarianism without being aware of it. Children are brought up intensely conscious of a leader, as a result of class lessons. In a typical schoolroom an authoritarian atmosphere exists between the teacher and the children. In a democratic education, however, the teacher is a participant-leader in small groups of children working on problems. If you turn back to the chart called "Democratic Social Structure versus Authoritarian Social Structure" in Chapter 3, you will see more clearly this distinction between these two types of education. As long as many of our schools are organized in the way pictured in the top part of the diagram, we do not have a democratic educational system. And how can we expect democratic results from authoritarian processes in education? We often try to do what cannot be done: to attain one kind of end by another kind of means.

Many of our school administrations are hierarchical. The superintendent tells his assistants, who tell the principals, who tell the teachers, who tell the children. Authoritarian social structure in education impedes the creative powers of children. Academic authoritarianism is about as bad as political authoritarianism—in some ways worse—because it is more respectable and therefore so much harder to shake off.

The traditional way in which education is fragmented into gong-regulated periods, and book-regulated subjects, makes it difficult for a sympathetic and understanding teacher to lead out (*educo*) the powers that are within growing children. Instead of the integration which we call character, which finds expression in being and doing, we get disintegrated, frustrated, hesitant personalities. Such children will not be an asset to democratic society. Certainly, they will salute the flag—not because they have any

genuine love and understanding of democracy—but because some one orders, “Salute the flag!”

Because many of our schools are big, noisy, knowledge factories, genuine democratic education is hardly possible. However much individual principals or teachers may struggle against this mass-production enterprise, the system is a great mill in which there is a constant danger of the individuality of the child’s being submerged. Of necessity the pupils are handled in crowds. The size and design of many schools hamper democratic education. Their form is superficially related to the essence of the intimate function of education. For teachers and pupils to work together creatively in such structures is so difficult that few succeed at it.

The architecture of many of our schools shows little adaptation or sensitivity to basic changes in educational theory which are under way. The oversized Union Station type of school structure continues in vogue. In these large, fortress-like buildings, children, whom nature intended to be active little beings, are regimented in rows of seats screwed to the floor—“like rows of butterflies transfixed with pins”—as Madame Montessori put it. The result of such a spiritually barren and mechanistic structure is systematic frustration of children. Many of them are inhibited, dominated, and frustrated in both home and school. Some parents and some schools meet successfully the forces of emotional maladjustments. By and large, though, the negative influences that make for repression exceed in power the positive influences that stimulate, release, and train creative potentialities in children. They are often inhibited verbally, “Don’t do that!” “Don’t go in there!” etc. Thus their basic training is negative rather than positive—don’t-democracy instead of do-democracy.

When one considers the kind of education most of the children get, one wonders that juvenile delinquency is not

worse than it is. Some of the more spirited individuals, as well as some of the less stable and intelligent, are the ones who rebel first. We try one remedy on another. After awhile we put the delinquent children in cages. Much of our efforts to deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency concerns itself with what kind of cages to build, where to build them, and what judges are to be responsible for filling them. Comparatively little effort is spent on preventive measures, removing the conditions leading to frustration.

The following story illustrates this problem of frustration and unhealthy discipline. A friend of mine relates visiting a grade school several years ago. In the upper hall there were three boys, two small ones and an older one who looked like a seventh grade pupil. The little boys were squatting up and down, while the big boy watched. My friend asked the big boy what was happening. "I am giving them the squats," he replied. "What for?" my friend inquired. "They were fighting in line," the big boy asserted, "What else can you do but give them the squats?"

It would be interesting to find out the character-building effects on the older boy who administered the punishment and passed the observation: "What else can you do but give them the squats?" Maybe he is a storm trooper of the future. He could easily learn how some more "refined" forms of punishment, as developed in Nazi concentration camps, make it even more unpleasant to the victim and more "amusing" to the watcher.

The tremendous energy that children have to release some way or another is seen in the above incident. With few workshops in schools, with the usual bookish emphasis in education, with inadequate recreational facilities, and with uninspiring social structure, the energy that is in children is likely to find antisocial outlets. *Authoritarian structure in education develops either children who are*

inhibited and obedient, or children who evolve aggressive traits through being excessively frustrated. Obedient or domineering personalities are the basis of systems like Nazism. To insure the success of democracy, we must prevent the development of both types of persons. We need an educational system which is democratic in structure, which will build human beings capable of living together, rather than dominating each other.

GROUP ACTIVITY IN EDUCATION

The Progressive Education movement has for long recognized the importance of a democratic educational system. The forerunners of this movement, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and others, stress the importance of organizing education in such a way that the child will develop to his highest potentiality. In America, John Dewey, Carleton Washburne, and others are the outstanding exponents of this view. Dewey's theory is a reaction against authoritarian methods in education. It is also a reaction against an educational system which insists on learning facts and talking about them, rather than on learning by acting. For Dewey, education is not so much preparation for life, but life itself, in schools children should live, not study life.

Progressive education, like the method of *do-democracy*, is based on the indirect method, not exhortation, but the creation of favorable environment for the acquisition of democratic attitudes and behavior traits. It does not inoculate students with knowledge, but enables them to learn how to live and make use of knowledge. It stresses living rather than facts and takes into account the total being of the individual, not only his mind. Furthermore, progressive education, like *do-democracy*, believes that an important task of the schools is to develop the ability to solve problems, to meet concrete situations.

The foundation of sand, underlying much of our education, is the concept that education consists of giving information. This leads to schools organized as academic filling stations, where children sit passively to absorb what is told to them. The foundation of rock, which can make the educational structure firm, is the concept that education is a process of building up behavior traits and attitudes. This gives us active education, in which actual experience comes ahead of, or along with, books.

The danger is that education and democracy tend to be too verbal and fail to acquaint children with the inner meaning of democracy as a kind of society which requires a certain way of acting. *Talk-democracy results from an education which gives only facts and develops opinions. Do-democracy comes as a result of an education which is based on acting and learning together.*

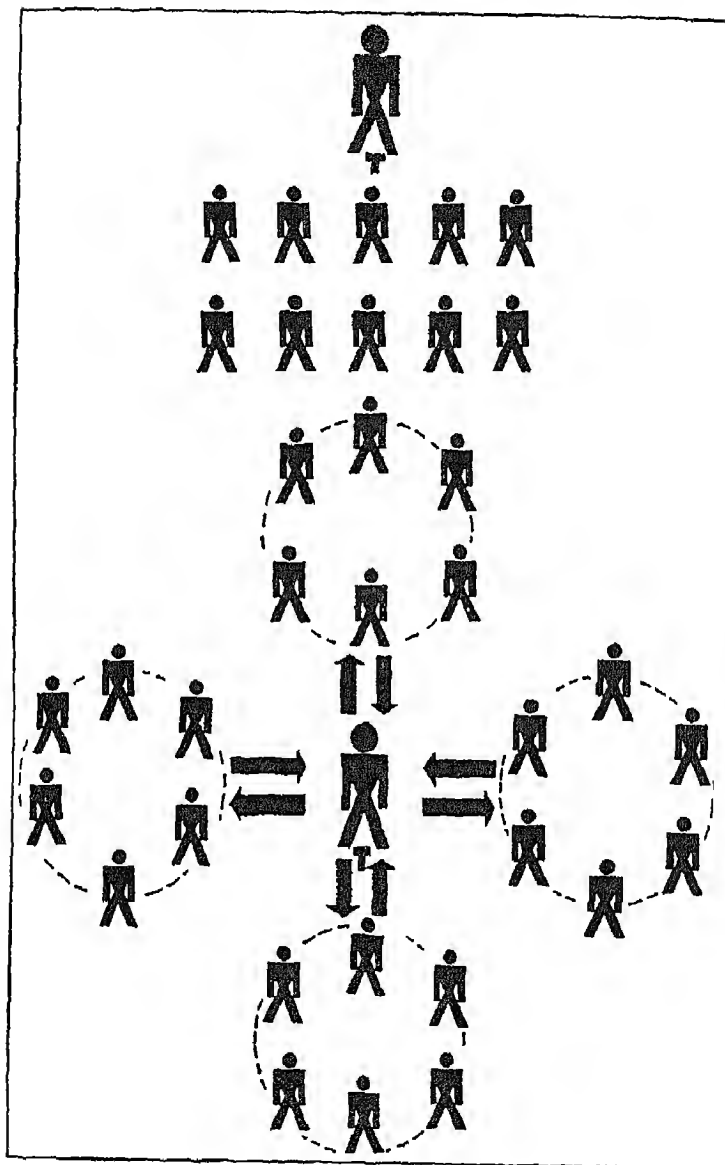
The application of the method to education leads to the stressing of groups and activity:

1. Look again at the lower part of the diagram "Democratic Social Structure versus Authoritarian Social Structure." In such democratic groups, pupils are working together on problems. The result is that children develop their capacities and direct them into activities which help them to grapple with the problems of democratic living. The traditional educational system creates an environment which imposes from above, ignores capacities, and opposes free activity.

Favorable atmosphere for democracy can be created by the down-to-earth application of the problem-centered-group method. The apparently unimportant change from fixed desks to movable chairs would make it possible to subdivide a crowd of fifty children into four groups of workable size.

The implication of democratic structure to the architecture of schools is also worth considering. This means that

HOW THE CLASSROOM CAN BE BROKEN INTO GROUPS



the big Union Station school structure has to be broken up into decentralized units. Note the illustration which follows. On the top you see the floor plan of a high school in Chicago. The site is large, but the structure is so placed that it kills much of the usefulness of the ground, as an accessory to the school. The building towers like a battleship above a neighborhood of small homes. The very massiveness of such a building overshadows the individual child.

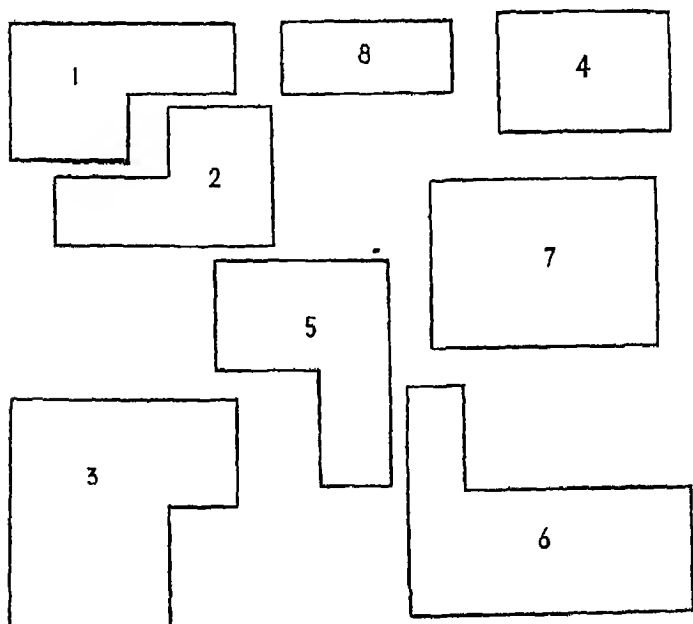
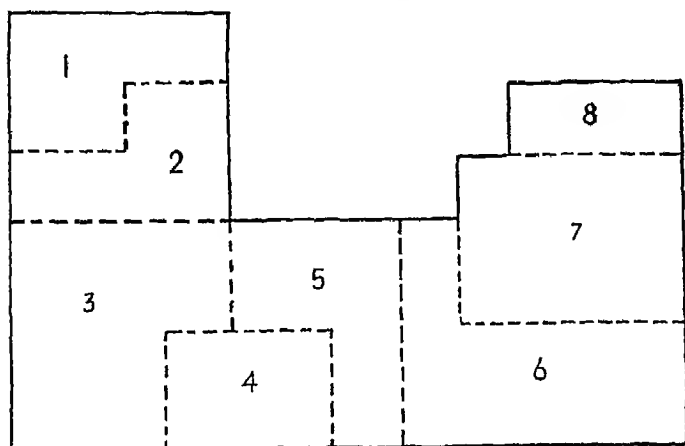
In the lower part is shown how the same floor space, broken into eight smaller buildings, might be arranged in a cluster, more like the architecture of a typical small college. The site becomes a campus, useful for recreation, outdoor study, discussion groups, or simple outdoor scientific experiments. Also the classrooms will have more sunlight and air. This proposed architecture would be a step toward making schools less formidable, more flexible, and somewhat more human. In so doing, it will stimulate, to some extent, the flowering of genuine group activity, and more participant-leader teachers. Architecture, of course, is not the dominant factor in setting the tone of the school, but it probably is more potent than we realize.

2. Democracy is something you do. Thus it is important that education should not be too verbal. Much of our traditional education does not fit youth for the world. Overemphasis on bookishness in education is prevalent. It is not surprising that so many of our boys and girls come out of school with illusions about the world, and find it difficult to meet conditions which demand intensive application of energy, adaptability, and resourcefulness.

Often the training which children get in schools is limited and deficient in manual and muscular activities. In rural and small-town America, where boys and girls live more actively outside of school hours, the consequences of passive posture, fixed routine, and bookish methods of

HOW A BIG BUILDING CAN BE BROKEN INTO SMALLER UNITS

A Chicago High School on a 10-Acre Site is Charted Here Dotted Lines Indicate the Eight Imaginary Buildings into Which the Mammoth Structure Can be Carved.



the traditional classroom are not so apparent. It is otherwise in great cities. Here we need more activity projects. The more different kinds of things a child gets to know by handling them, the greater will be his sense of kinship with the world he lives in. The nursery school and the kindergarten are better in this respect than "higher" education, which tends to be bookish.

The most common activity project is the workshop, where children work together in groups. Units of ten children work on mechanical problems of the sort which arise in daily living in their homes. Such workshops combine two essentials: doing (even if only dealing with a simple mechanical problem) and working together.

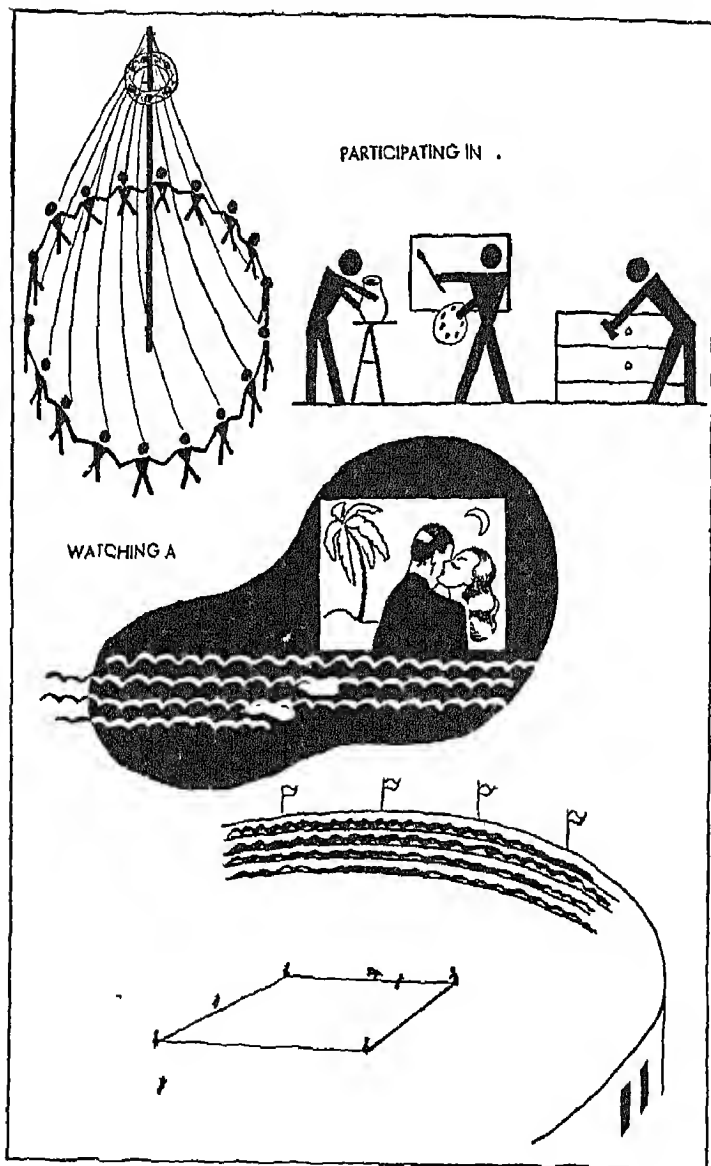
By forming small groups on specific problems or projects (a project is a job to be done, a subject is just a small cargo of knowledge), democratic structure can be created within our educational system. Such education would enhance activity as well as books, acts as well as words, the hand as well as the head. In schools and colleges the student usually starts with words printed on paper. He learns general principles first and tries to apply them later. In the problem-centered-group the procedure is otherwise. It is from the specific to the general—from facts to words rather than from words to facts. The question is not which method is the right one, but rather how to combine them in various ways.

Repressed and regimented children, put through a lopsided educational mill, can be receptive some day to authoritarianism based on an omnipotent leader. Democratic education will develop social beings capable of participating in the ongoing process of democracy.

PARTICIPATION IN ART AND LEISURE

Much of our artistic enjoyment and leisure tends to be passive. We go to the movies, to the theater, or to a football

ACTIVE GROUP RECREATION VERSUS PASSIVE RECREATION



game and are nothing but spectators. As Jay B. Nash said: "The average man who has time on his hands turns out to be a spectator, a watcher of somebody else, merely because that is the easiest thing. He becomes a victim of spectatoritis—a blanket description to cover all kinds of passive amusement, an entering into the handiest activity merely to escape boredom."

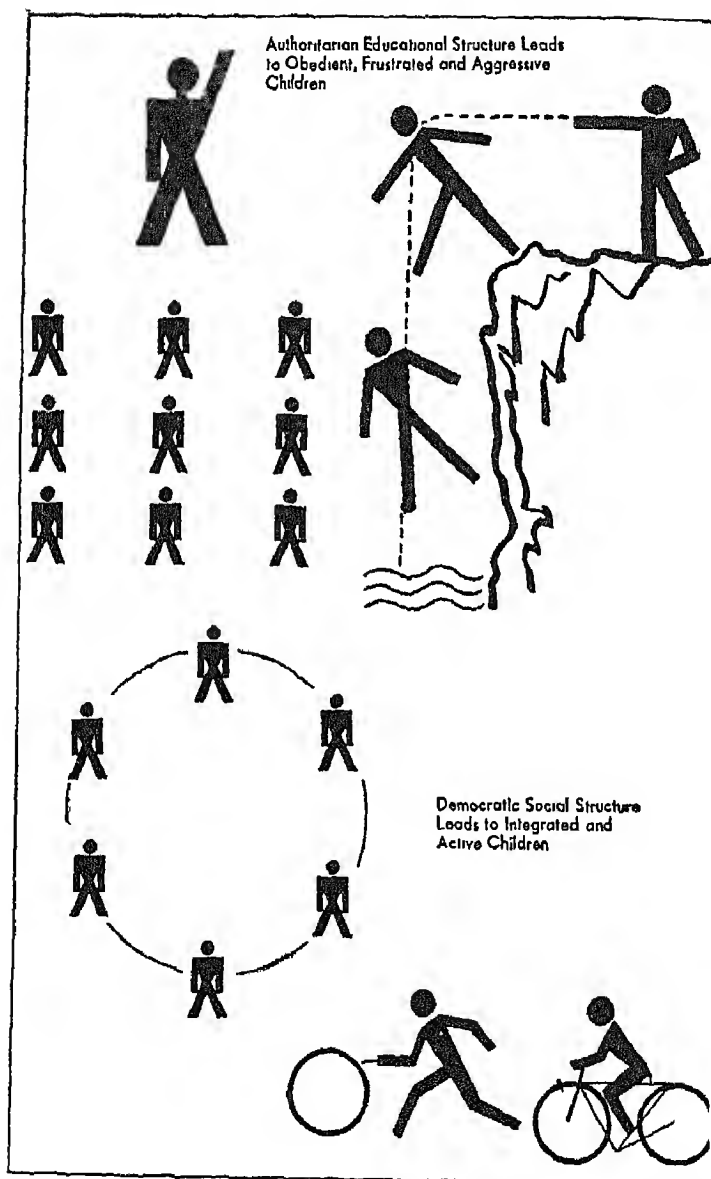
The joy that comes of participation and self-expression is much greater than sitting back and watching Thus we need to promote activities wherein the people are actively participating rather than just passively observant.

One way of doing this is through the promotion of community art centers, where participation is possible for all. Such community art centers have recreational as well as therapeutic effects. Considerable advance has been made in this direction by the community art projects of the former W.P.A. The W.P.A. artists were in many instances the leaders and teachers of all sorts of local art groups. Schools, settlement houses and other institutions have co-operated. In these creative workshops artists are working with citizens in a variety of arts and crafts: life drawing, painting, etching, wood carving, sculpture, drafting, machine craft, posters, photography, and so forth. It is important that such community art centers should be extended and become a permanent feature of American life.

One of the greatest problems of modern civilization is loneliness. Loneliness is partly due to the fact that leisure is not used creatively, that the leisure time becomes a period of lostness. The working day has been shortened, due to technological and social changes which have greatly accelerated in the past generation. Leisure we have—we need to learn to use it creatively. For it can be destructive, or it can be a means of building physical, mental stamina, of generating power and inspiration.

Situations must be created where people come together

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 6



in creative relationships. Much of this is already done. Folk dancing, choral singing, hobby groups, discussion groups, and so forth, bring people together. These small groups have as their aim "pure togetherness," without reference to action. In such groups the "center" is a common interest rather than a common problem. The problem-centered-group is interested in action, it is a means toward an end. The interest-centered-group is an end in itself: the enjoyment of being together and participating in some creative leisure activity.

I know of an interest-centered-group which got together every week. The common interest was the enjoyment of music. While this is in a sense passive, the group being small and informal had a significant effect on those who came. The mere fact that music is a nonverbal language tends to bring about relaxation more than do words. It breaks down psychological barriers to responsiveness. The feeling of belongingness was the important feature of this group. One of the persons, who came regularly, remarked that this group was the first thing he ever belonged to. Another, a girl who was a retiring sort of a person, is a somewhat more active person since she joined the group.

Such groups give a feeling of belongingness—they combat disintegration. There are numerous people who hunger for companionship, and who would be glad to participate in art and leisure groups. Such groups need to be encouraged inside churches, homes, libraries, museums, art centers, schools, and settlement houses.

Chapter 7

JOURNALISM

PARTICIPATION IN JOURNALISM

The best way to show the application of the problem-centered-group method in the field of journalism is to give a brief account of a publication, *Millar's Chicago Letter*, which has used the problem-centered-method in its operation. This weekly paper has been called by a professor of the Medill School of Journalism, "the most important thing journalistically that has happened in Chicago in ten years."

M.C L. has a changed concept of news. The daily newspaper recognizes the news value of discord and conflict. Divorce is more news than marriage; crime is more news than law observance; war is more news than peace. In general, that which is negative and destructive is more news than that which is positive and constructive. M.C L. seeks to emphasize that which is integrating and creative. It takes the point of view that co-operation is more noteworthy than discord and relationships deserve more emphasis than isolated events. Thus M.C L. is pioneering in a journalism of integration, with emphasis on that which relates and builds, rather than on that which tears society apart

A positive, creative, and constructive news policy brings involvement in activity, instead of watching the parade go by, the editor has to get in it himself through his publication. As M C L. sees it, news is not something that you watch and tell about, but a stream of living existence in

which, willy-nilly, you are carried along. In fact it says: "We are in the middle of a stream of events. We do not kid ourselves or others by pretending that we are merely on the bank watching the stream flow by, in judicious detachment."

The *Letter* aims to get away from the 'orthodox mountaintop relationship to its readers, one in which the publication speaks with detached wisdom and expects the public to welcome and absorb its utterances. Random participation by readers is relatively easy. They can make detached suggestions, provide information, write letters to the editor, or otherwise contribute in miscellaneous ways. What is of primary importance, however, is not passing comment on this or that detached subject, but the structure of the publication as a whole. M.C.L. does away with the term "reader" or "subscriber" and uses the term "member." To make possible more than just advice, M.C.L., applying the problem-centered-group method, formed advisory committees around specific issues. Thus creative participation of specifically qualified persons in the planning and writing of an issue was made possible.

When newspapers became big business, following the trend of the times, they became mechanized and standardized. Newspapers and magazines acquired the similarity of cigarettes and drugstores; they differ only slightly in New York and Los Angeles. World War I and the depression changed journalism by striking bitter blows at our complacency and comfort. Besides wanting to know *What* was happening nationally and internationally, we wanted to know *Why* it was happening. This demand for clarification brought about interpretative journalism. In turn, this produced news commentators, columnists, news letters, editorial emphasis, and more detailed analysis of national and international affairs.

M.C.L. goes further than this kind of journalism. It is

not only interested in *Why* (which looks backward) but also in *How* (which looks forward). By paying attention to *How* questions, newspapers are able to become more than sideline commentators. *Obviously this kind of journalism cannot replace the daily with a million circulation, but it is badly needed as a supplement.* It will be especially feasible in communities and around specific problems. The trend toward bigness in journalism has curtailed the influence of local journalism. But until journalism recognizes the importance of local publications, which demonstrate the relations between local problems and national ones, and the possibility of concrete action, we will continue to think in vague terms about remote problems which are beyond our immediate reach. Thus, feeling our own impotence, our powers to take intelligent action will be impeded. Consequently we need journalism, which will have its part in building integration, bringing people together, and providing ways and means of local action.

Such journalism focuses attention on problems, rather than on subjects. A subject is usually something you talk about, a problem is something you are trying to solve. M.C.L. is concerned with problems—it deals with the civil service problem, the transportation problem, the syphilis problem and so forth.

THE STRUCTURE OF M.C.L.

Let us see more specifically how M.C.L. goes about getting out an issue. Having found a problem for exploration, the editor proceeds as follows. (a) talks the problem over with a number of interested persons in a group meeting, (b) follows up with individual interviews, exploring the problem and its ramifications more intensively; (c) checks the literature in the field, (d) writes a tentative manuscript, (e) circulates this manuscript among various

specialists on the problem involved, and some thoughtful "generalists," inviting suggestions, criticism and comment; (f) discusses with a few key persons how to integrate this added material into the final manuscript, (g) prints the final copy and sends it to all regular members, (h) seeks special circulation among persons and organizations especially concerned with the problem discussed in the particular issue. Of course, in this imperfect world, not all this is done with every issue, but most of it is done. These procedures appeal to civic leaders, for the finest sort of co-operation was received by M.C.L.

This is the problem-centered-group method in operation in the field of journalism, involving the participation of interested persons who are the ones who will help to carry out the suggestions that have been made. M.C.L. helps them to crystallize their thoughts by putting them into print, in words, pictures and maps. The editor is a participant-leader, he makes the framework of the manuscript and sets in motion the process of participation. Suggestions become more specific when there is a frame on which to "hang" them. They become related to a theme, instead of being detached remarks. *Submitting tentative manuscripts to persons who can help to turn ideas into action is a technique for thinking-writing-acting.* Moreover, these persons feel a sense of belongingness and get creative satisfaction that comes from significant participation. At the same time the final manuscript will be more complete and integrated than a manuscript would be if it were produced without consultation.

A few illustrations of how M.C.L. brought people together into problem-centered-groups will be illuminating. An issue dealing with handicapped children (there are some 80,000 in Illinois) has brought about active participation of some forty of Chicago's leaders in government and social service on three specific problems of handicapped

children. In the production of an issue on vocational guidance, the editor attended only one meeting. He merely created a situation in which a group of competent persons visualized clearly an important problem within their range of interest. The rest happened naturally.

The issue on syphilis, which a leading professor at the University of Illinois School of Medicine calls: "the best thing on a medical subject that I've ever seen written by a layman," started with a letter to some forty persons asking three pungent questions suggested by an individual thoroughly grounded in the Chicago syphilis situation. Some twenty replies were received. Interviews followed. A manuscript was drafted, ending with certain proposals for "Suggested Action Now." These proposals were submitted to a group of experts at a luncheon one Saturday noon. They chewed on them until three o'clock, modifying them and adding to them. Finally they reached a consensus, which M.C.L. subsequently published.

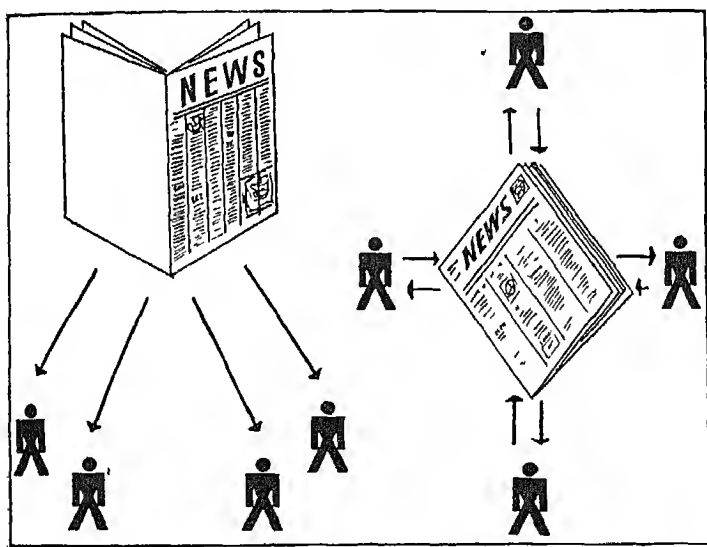
Note the deliberate effort made in this case to involve persons who could influence subsequent action. If persons who have power to act take part in evolving the thinking that precedes action, then the gap between thinking and action narrows. It would have been a mistake not to involve in the making of the manuscript persons who might do something about the recommended action.

It is difficult, of course, to check the results of this process. In this case the author of the Illinois premarital examination law was among those present, and concurred in a conclusion reached by the group that the administration of the law might be improved. A few weeks later, the legislature made certain changes in the law in order to make it work better. Maybe this was just a coincidence, maybe not. Anyway, the more persons with power to act are involved in thinking through practical problems, the more such "coincidences" there will be.

We have seen that newspapers can make a deliberate effort to shift the position of the writer or editor from that of a sideline spectator of the stream of events, to that of the operator of a small craft right out in the stream. Such journalism means a shift from exhortation to participation, from talk-democracy to do-democracy.

This volume itself is the result of the participation of many persons. It is not the product of a mind who has thought about democracy in an ivory tower; it is the fruit of many discussions between a number of persons with various backgrounds. Tentative manuscripts have been

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 7



circulated for criticism and comment. Social workers, educators, housewives, businessmen, professors, government officials, and many others have made contributions. Thus this volume is intended to be more than just a book by an author, it is intended to be the synthesis of many persons' ideas and experiences.

As in the case of M.C.L. the framework of the manuscript has been worked out by one person whose name appears on the title page. The framework included the main themes of the book. This volume attempts to imitate the structure of a symphony: it is based on themes and variations on themes. Some of these themes are. do-democracy versus talk-democracy, participation, necessity of the feeling of belongingness, facing problems together, dealing with specific problems rather than general ones. Variations are introduced when these themes are discussed in various chapters. This symphonic structure accounts for the apparent repetitions in this book. These "repetitions" are done deliberately; they are not repetitions, but variations on themes.

Moreover, this volume is the by-product of action. While it was being written, the method was being applied in a variety of actual situations. Thus the book hopes to combine theory and practice.

But not only is this volume a product of the working together of the author and those who collaborated. Actually there is another person involved *you*. Unless this book becomes a means of interchange of ideas and experiences between the two of us, none of us will gain much. You will have to bring to bear your experience and knowledge upon the ideas here expressed in order that you may see how it affects your problems and your activities

Chapter 8

EMPLOYMENT AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

GROUP SELF-HELP

Social work started out as a kind of benevolent paternalism, with a "poor fellow, isn't that too bad?" attitude, and a dime or a bowl of soup as its method. With the development of professional social workers and the changed attitude toward unemployed and disabled, a new conception of social work has succeeded the old smug condescension. A real effort to help maladjusted and handicapped personalities find their own niches of usefulness and self-sufficiency is the ideal of social work today. In order to be most effective the social worker should not be an outsider who dispenses relief. Obviously, in many cases people are so dependent that they have to be cared for by others. But in numerous instances, the social worker can be a stimulator, a participant-leader. He or she can help people to do or get certain things they need.

The problem of unemployment, so acute several years ago and perhaps soon to be with us again, has been replaced by the problem of the employer seeking help to carry on his business and the worker seeking the job where he can be of greatest service to the war effort. This is calling into the working world whole new groups hitherto classed as unemployable who need the understanding services of the social worker in adjusting to the changed situation.

Unemployment and employment, as most of us see them, are primarily economic problems. Suppose we were to

look at them primarily, as psychological problems. Some things we have been doing would have to be stopped. Some things we have not been doing, to help and encourage the potential worker, would have to be started.

Such a changed point of view means shifting attention from money to men, not man in the abstract but real living men, every one of whom is different from every other, with different latent powers, different personal background, and different problems. A system of vocational guidance or relief administration which confines its attention to administrative and financial routines is inadequate no matter how efficient the administration is or how much money there is. We need to work together resourcefully for relief from relief, doing things that release inhibitions, overcome fears, and enable all of us to get more of those fundamental human values we crave so deeply.

In attempting to deal with such a problem as unemployment—or in the present war emergency not so much with the problem of getting jobs for the unemployed which are plenty but of getting them those for which they are best fitted, and shifting men to vital jobs—we wander around looking for help as if we thought that the powers which could meet our needs and solve our problems were somewhere outside. Such is not the case, power is within. Our problem is one of generating and releasing this power, of helping ourselves, not of finding some outside power line to tap.

Traditionally, our self-help spirit is self-centered. The individual goes his way, by himself, for himself. Hence he encounters increasing difficulties as the world gets more complex, more mechanized, and more urban. Under such conditions it behooves us to consider how we can keep the spirit of self-help, and adjust it to the largeness of modern living. This means shifting the emphasis from individualistic to group self-help. New dynamics generate

when persons who are discouraged and alone find ways to work together for mutual benefit.

Bringing the problem down to terms of our own experience, we can all find a way to help solve the manpower problem in our own communities. Anyone with an interest in young people which goes deeper than a gruff interview with daughter's caller can create a situation leading to action by making available the informal atmosphere of his home to a group which has the job problem in common. Some man, perhaps an employer, who has learned from experience some helpful ideas, about which he is willing to talk informally, is a stimulating factor in such a meeting. The average man will walk miles for a chance to give advice, especially if it gives him a chance to tell the story of his life. If his enthusiasm for his subject carries him too far, you can ask him to turn on the radio, and let the young people dance.

The young people will, with a little urging, talk about their common problems, of which the job problem is one. Tips will pass from one person to another, suggestions will be made by the employer present. Monday evening is an excellent choice for these informal open houses, as it is the first working day of the week. There will be five days in the week to act upon suggestions or inspiration received.

Such Monday evening open houses can be sponsored by numerous citizens. This proposed plan is simple, informal, and direct. It recognizes two prime needs of young people; a satisfying job and companionship. What one group does, on one Monday evening, may not seem important, but if you keep such meetings up, others will follow your example, and the effect will be far-reaching.

An example of a more systematic group self-help is the Man Marketing Clinic at the DePaul University in Chicago. Graduates of any college may participate. The procedure is quite informal. Each individual presents his problem to

the group and gets such counsel and advice as those present can give. Problems are real ones, advice is practical. A young accountant reads a draft of a letter he has composed, asking for an employment interview. The group tells him, among other things, that he has used the word "I" far too often. A chemical engineer describes his particular interests and qualifications. Others present suggest the particular company where he should seek employment, and how to contact such concerns and whom to see. And so on. The spirit is one of helping others to help themselves, the pooling of experiences on problems of particular individuals.

The results are constructive. (a) Job seekers develop better morale, more confidence in their own ability; (b) they learn how to dig out their own assets, how to sell their services; (c) they get from each other good ideas and suggestions as to how to avoid mistakes, (d) they learn to view themselves more objectively, as others see them, (e) many are helped to plan their lives better and carry out their plans; (f) those who follow the principles developed in the Man Marketing Clinic are more likely to get the jobs they want.

Ways and means of group self-help, of which this clinic is an example, need to be sought and used more than they are now. Frank discussion of mutual problems by members of such groups builds confidence, removes inhibitions, and generates new power. The personal and intimate atmosphere of such job hunting is much more satisfactory than the informal and impersonal procedures of employment agencies. One small group, to be sure, does not make much of a dent on the gigantic manpower problem we are faced with, but it helps a bit. Moreover, group action is contagious. For example, the Man Marketing Clinic is not DePaul University's idea. It developed in New York in 1935, where it has helped salesmen, school-

teachers, stenographers, commercial artists, sales and advertising managers, and many others.

Another project in group self-help was started in Boston by the Men Over Forty Club, and has spread all over the country. What one place does that's worth doing, others copy. The president of the Men Over Forty Club sums up the aims of his organization by stating. "We proceed as if there were no jobs, but there were any number of business problems to be solved, and human needs to be met. It is problems and needs that we look for. We get our heads together to figure out how to meet them. We determine in each case which of our members is best qualified to render service." In view of the critical manpower situation today due to the drafting of younger men, the importance of men over forty finding the right jobs cannot be stressed enough.

To start with problems and needs, and to co-operate with others in finding ways to meet them, is practical, democratic, and efficient. It is the natural procedure for groups of people who have problems, needs, and interests in common, to get together and help themselves.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The number of jobs is not constant, but variable. The new demands which the war is making of our workers is an illustration of changing needs. The promptness and efficiency with which training is adjusted to changed needs is important. The task is to channel into new jobs men who are qualified to fill them, which can be done to some extent by the group self-help method described above, and to train or retrain men when fully qualified individuals do not exist in large enough numbers.

Retraining is necessary for those whose old jobs have disappeared through technological changes, or for some

other reason, like the present war. Men who are discouraged and hopeless because the jobs they once had have vanished, can be given new hope, courage, and power by the right kind of retraining.

For those who need to develop new skills, opportunity schools might be established. Denver did this by putting to new use an old elementary school in a downtown area from which families with children have departed. How training or retraining for jobs is conducted by this opportunity school is illustrated by a course on stokers. The method involved in this example is applicable to the training for other jobs, which today are more vital.

Eighteen different makes of residential stokers are on sale in Denver. Two or three inquiries from people who wanted to be trained for posts in the stoker business suggested that there might be potential jobs there. One of the four opportunity school co-ordinators—full-time liaison agents between school and work in Denver—got busy. He interviewed every firm in the stoker business. He found out how many and what kind of people they were employing, and what kind of workers they needed. He learned that potential sales and service jobs existed, which might be filled if specific training to fit people for them were provided. In co-operation with the Denver representatives of the stoker industry, courses of instruction were worked out.

Sixty-two persons enrolled in the first class. The majority were employees of the eighteen firms who wanted to advance themselves, and so wanted training to do more valuable work. As they were promoted, newcomers were needed to fill the jobs they had held. Such newcomers were in training too. Six of them found jobs in the first month.

This is not spectacular, but it comes close to being the way men are made for jobs in numerous fields of indus-

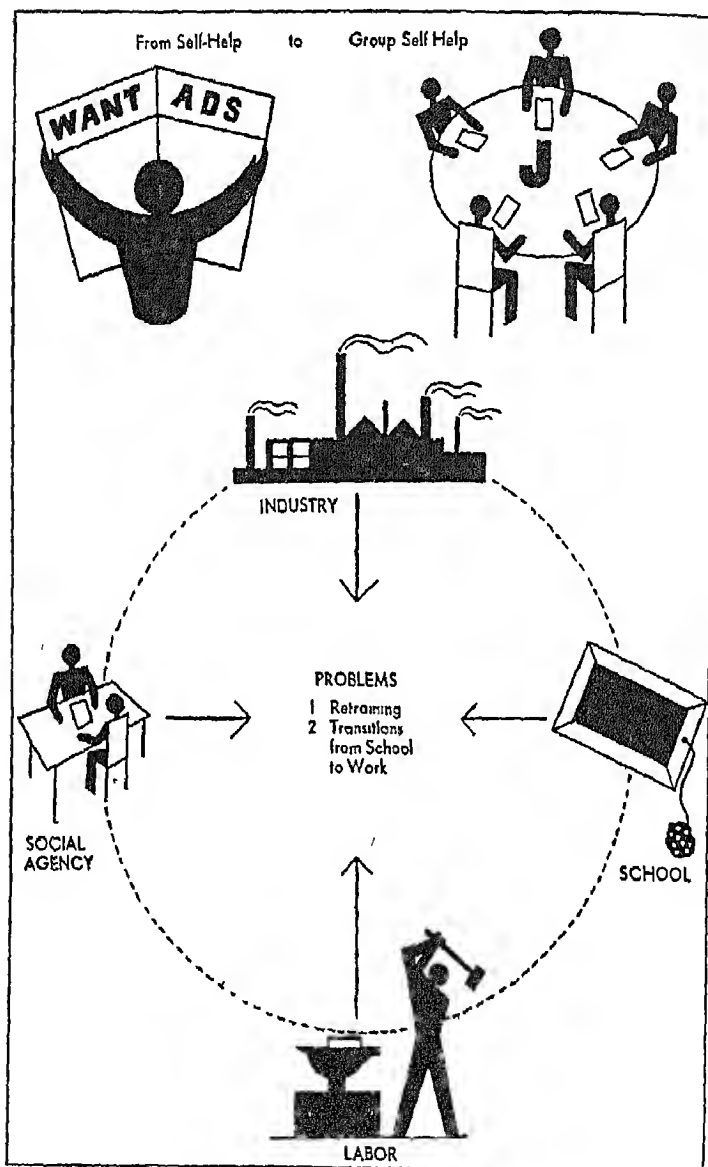
try; not wholesale, but one by one. This procedure is not haphazard, but carefully planned with the co-operation of trade unions and employers, under the leadership of the Emily Griffith Opportunity School. Similar co-operative arrangements exist with numerous other crafts and industries, carpenters, bricklayers, sheetmetal workers, painters and decorators, steamfitters, electricians and many others.

It takes time, patience, and energy to make the continuous checkups necessary to keep training everlastingly in tune with changing needs. In the Denver opportunity school the process is one of finding out what types of training are needed, of calling in, as advisers and planners, persons in business, professions, and labor who have first hand knowledge of meeting the needs, and then going to it. This is the way the problem-centered-group works; its application should be extended widely. Given four-way co-operation between schools, business, labor and social work, an integrated training program can be worked out in other cities and communities. There are a large number of potential jobs throughout the country which can be turned into actualities if more persons are rightly trained for them. This is especially true today in the war emergency.

Vocational training is needed, not only in connection with training and retraining, but also to improve the system of moving youth from school to work. When life was simpler, youth had many chances to learn by watching and helping. Today, when life is so complex and there is so much to know and understand, the opportunities for youth to learn by the natural methods of watching and helping is restricted.

The traditional haphazard method of moving young people from school to work needs to evolve into some-

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 8



thing much better. A gradual transition, rather than an abrupt plunge, is needed. Can we make the end of school more like the beginning of work, and the beginning of work more like the continuation of education? If so, we may someday advance to the point where it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins. This would be a good thing. For the time being we might extend educational curriculum into the field of work, through the establishment, in many lines of work, of apprenticeships, internships, and cadetships, perhaps on some partial-pay basis along an alternating work and study plan. Such training will lower the barriers between school and work experience.

Here again, a program intended to reach this aim must evolve through the co-operation of business, labor, and schools. Through the application of the problem-centered-group method, advisory committees of employers, labor representatives, and the public, on the problem of transition from school to work, can help the school to work out satisfactory arrangements.

Labor, education, business and social work must assume responsibility for retraining and training, and insist that the oncoming generation of youth be given a chance to learn work habits while in school. No program for these purposes will be accepted by all those who must accept it to make it effective, unless they also participate in evolving it. That which a local branch of the American Association of Social Workers works out by itself, no matter how good, will not be accepted by education, business, and labor. That which a local association of commerce works out by itself, no matter how good, will not be accepted by social workers, teachers, and labor officials, and so forth.

We often try to impose general remedies. This method

fails because it is not practical. Jobs and trained workers are made one at a time. *If enough of us work simultaneously and co-operatively on specific problems of training, retraining, and apprentice training, after awhile the sum total of our accomplishments will be substantial.*

Chapter 9

INDUSTRY

HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY

Today, more than ever, increased industrial output and efficiency are necessities. The achievement of them is not purely a technological problem. Industry is made up of human beings as well as machines, and no one will deny that technological equipment is by no means the only requisite of effective production. Improved industrial efficiency is partly a result of satisfying human relationships within industrial and business firms. Ineffective organizational structure impedes maximum human effort, creates dissatisfaction which leads to less than capacity production, even though it does not manifest itself in such overt symptoms as strikes. Obviously, human relationship in business and industry is not a sideline issue.

For some time there has been a growing interest in the field of personnel, resulting in the establishment of personnel departments and the training of men to head them. As this interest has grown, it has been realized that problems of labor relations are to a great extent problems of dealing understandingly with human beings. At the turn of the century what is now called "personnel administration" began to assume the proportions of a field of study in human engineering. At first physical fatigue was studied and plans were made for its reduction. In the last years, however, the period, which is often called the "social concept" stage, began to predominate in the field of personnel administration. In this period the stress is on human relations between workers and managers.

The most extensive study of the psychological aspects of management-employee relations in an industrial concern, was made at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. The story of this twelve year program of industrial research, which started as engineering and ended up as sociology, has been written by F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, with the assistance and collaboration of Harold A. Wright. The study was published by the Harvard University Press, in 1939, under the title: *Management and the Worker*.

The project began as an industrial engineering study to find out what degree of lighting would enable workers to do the most and best work. One would think that, given the willingness to try different lighting intensities one after another, the best would be found. This is what the Western Electric management thought too. They failed. What they found was that, compared with the many variables which combine to make up the total situation of the worker and his job, intensity of illumination is of minor importance. The effect of illumination, as such, could not be determined. True enough, a worker might grumble about the light. But is that his real trouble? Maybe he grumbles about the light because it is convenient to grumble about, whereas his real trouble is the grievance he is nursing against a supervisor about which he cannot publicly grumble.

And so the study flowed on to another and more significant stage, in which problems of psychology and sociology were increasingly in evidence. Somewhere about this time a Western Electric official, at a banquet in New York, got into conversation with Elton Mayo, the distinguished industrial psychologist and sociologist of Harvard. Mayo was interested. Before long, he brought Harvard into the picture; eventually he became the inspiring genius of the project.

There followed in 1929, 1930, and 1931 a tremendous interviewing program to let employees get off their chest whatever was burdening them. In three years there were about 20,000 interviews with both men and women, averaging close to one and a half hours each. Interviewers made written reports of each—many as long as ten single-spaced typewritten pages. Out of the analysis of these reports came conclusions affecting the whole organization. Thousands of employee suggestions were acted upon.

Management and the Worker reports how group organization can release and generate latent powers inside an industrial plant. When a small group of human beings were freed from imposed supervision, gradually there was a release of tension. The group became more spontaneous. There began to develop rapport, friendship, social life, and group solidarity. The last paragraph of Chapter VIII says. "What impressed management most, however, were the stores of latent energy and productive co-operation which clearly could be obtained from a working force under the right conditions. And among the factors making these conditions the attitudes of the employees stood out as being of predominant importance."

This study indicates that informal organization among employees has great strength. It reveals widespread fear and repression among workers who are under an authoritarian line supervision. It frequently comments on the failure of the line system to feed information up to the management as effectively as it feeds orders down.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP IN INDUSTRY

Employer and employee co-operation is not a new thing. The application of the method here proposed, is a way of increasing co-operation. It might not be able to

settle strikes, but it will be of some help in preventing them; it might not transform a firm overnight into an efficient and smooth-running organization, producing at top capacity, but it will improve the relations within the firm considerably.

Whether we face the problems of wartime production or peacetime production, we need to bring labor and business together in those types of associations which will reveal joint interest between them. We pay too much attention to those points between labor and business which are controversial, and thus attempts to co-operate break down in the beginning. *However, if business and labor start working on problems which are not very controversial, they will learn to work together by getting into the habit of co-operation, and so become better able to solve the more difficult and controversial capital-labor problems on which there is now wide disagreement.* Co-operation breeds co-operation. Thus the first step is to concentrate on specific problems on which labor and management can work together.

Every firm has a vast number of problems. Large problems are clusters of smaller ones, smaller ones, in turn, consist of sub-problems. It is the management's responsibility to get these problems solved. At present employees participate, but only to a limited extent, and often in haphazard ways. Many times problems are dealt with by the action of the management, with minimum participation on the part of the workers. In order to find out the real nature of the problem, and how to deal with it, employee participation must be improved. *By discussing a problem with the workers, the management has a chance to utilize the vast amount of information and experience that exists among the employees.* After all, they are closer to the scene of action and in a way more acquainted with the actual needs and problems of their work.

With the aim of integrating employee participation with what management thinks and does as well as organizing it more effectively, one of the largest firms in the United States experimented with the problem-centered-group method

The first step was to find the precise nature of problems. "Talking it over with the employees" is a more or less accepted practice. Individual employees have been consulted and questionnaires have been submitted in many firms, in order to find out what the majority thinks. This usually means, not real participation, but Yes or No. Employers have also extensively used various suggestion systems. In spite of the fact that, for instance, Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. made \$250,000 in six months as a result of workers' ideas, suggestion systems according to a *New York Times* article of August 23, 1942, have been a failure. "Records show that nearly 95 percent of the merit plan awards that have been installed have decayed gradually, generally after auspicious starts."

Group interviews are a device for real participation, for extended consultation around specific problems. The principles of group interviewing, as practiced within various plants of the firm where the problem-centered-group method was applied, are the following:

1. Group interviewing is useful to explore a "problem-area," breaking vague general problems into specific parts.
2. Group interviewing is useful to crystallize the thinking of a large number of people. It is a technique for gradually arriving at a consensus. Whereas a one time Yes or No vote tends to fix and sharpen disagreement, a series of group interviews, day after day, threshing a given problem over and over, tends toward the creation of a common agreement.
3. Group interviews should be informal, relaxed, and unhurried. They must not be held at a time and place

where participants will be worrying about how their work is piling up while they are sitting and talking.

4 It is best to meet around a round-table. In this way each participant's position is equal to that of the others. There is no "head" and no "foot" to a round-table, no place that symbolizes "authority."

5 Five or six employees are about right for one group, in addition to the person who conducts the meeting. At times one or two supervisors may sit in also. There should be, however, more "privates" than "officers." Better to have more groups than too big ones.

6. It is well for the person conducting group interviews to ask questions that bring out and clarify specific parts of a big problem or specific problems. Complex problems lead to general talk. Compound questions get confounded answers. Well-defined problems and questions lead to well-defined comments and answers.

7. Care is needed to stimulate the timid to talk. Only the timid can express the idea of the timid. These may be more representative of the majority than the easily obtained ideas of the free talkers.

8. The effectiveness of the method of group interviewing, as against individual consultation or large group voting, lies in the interaction of the minds of individuals within groups of small size. Partial ideas unite into whole ones. Erroneous factors in the thinking of individuals tend to cancel out, as opinions bounce from mind to mind.

9. The more persons who participate in forming a judgment, the more there will be who will accept the judgment tolerantly when it is put into effect.

10. Even when a satisfactory consensus has been reached from a series of group interviews, it may be well to continue the meetings until everyone in a given department has taken part. This enlarges acceptance and simplifies the carrying out of the common decision.

11. Group interviewing has to be approached open-mindedly, expecting that employees will have ideas of value to offer. Even if such were not the case the method would have genuine employee relation value in the recognition it gives to the individual employee and his personal views.

12 Group interviewing should be co-ordinated with individual interviewing. Frequently a group interview will reveal tension and frustration in some individual. A personal interview with that individual can then follow.

To illustrate the effectiveness of the group-interview method, consider, for instance, the problem of rest periods. Most employees in a plant had ten-minute rest periods morning and afternoon. Sometimes, however, the work in a given department is so unbalanced that the standard rest period arrangement does not fit the particular situation. The group-interviewing method is especially useful for adjusting standard procedures to special situations. In Chicago, you get a Chicago answer, in Philadelphia, a Philadelphia answer, in Department 145, a Department 145 answer, in Department 35, a Department 35 answer.

In one department 75 girls were working 6 hours in the morning, and only an hour or two in the afternoon. Yet they had the standard rest period arrangement—10 minutes mornings and afternoons. When it was put to them, through a series of group interviews extending over several days, they decided to have one 20-minute period in the morning. To the management's surprise, however, they declined to have their lunch hour advanced. They liked the short afternoon more than they disliked the long morning.

In another case, 50 girls in a similar department, consulted through group interviews, evolved a different plan, which suited their particular situation better. They spread their 100 minutes a week of rest period time as follows:

15 minutes each morning, 10 minutes in the afternoons of the two or three days when they worked longer. In another city, a department of 60 persons working a short morning and long afternoon, decided to try out two plans: a 20-minute period in the afternoon only; and a 5-minute period in the morning, and a 15-minute one in the afternoon. They liked the first arrangement so well that they never tried the second.

The solutions of problems which are brought out in group interviews may in some cases be about the same as would be reached by the usual method of executive decision. In some cases, there will be delay in dealing with rather obvious problems. *But in most cases, the fusion of thinking and experience of the managers and employees will result in better solutions.* In the case of the above rest-period problem the management would have made a mistake if, without interviewing the gals, they had made a blanket rule for rest periods. Here the group-interview technique enabled the management to get the attitudes of the workers, and by integrating the employers' and employees' attitudes, a more satisfactory solution was reached. Since the wishes of the employees were considered and not ignored, the resulting decision was stronger and more lasting than if, instead of employee and employer co-operation, either had imposed on the other.

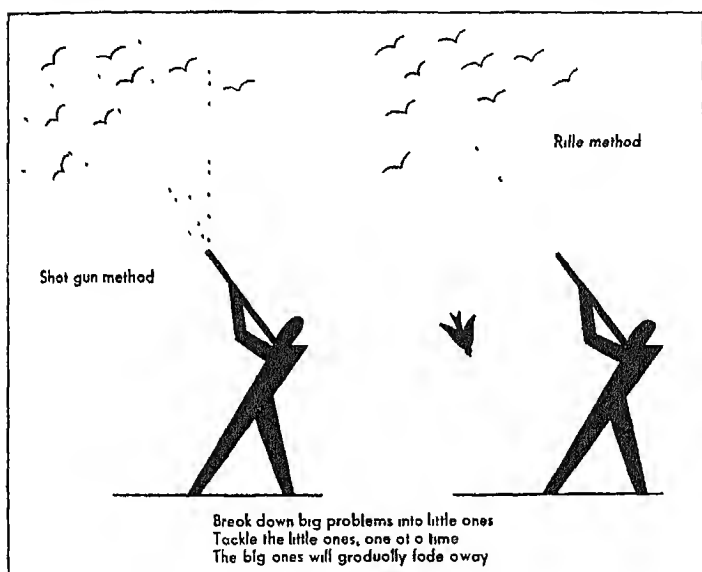
The group-interview technique is not only useful in creating a consensus by a large number of people on a particular problem, but also in breaking big problems into smaller specific ones. We have seen all through this volume that apparent problems are often "problem areas," which have to be broken down into specific problems so that they can be dealt with.

Even problems that seem simple enough, when first looked at, have a habit of turning out to be tangled clusters of problems. One interesting case of this sort was the

gift problem. For three weeks the gals were interviewed in bunches of five, trying to see if they could solve once for all the problem that arises when employees take up collections for this or that purpose, gifts for marriages, anniversaries, departures, flowers for funerals, and so forth.

PROBLEM SOLVING IS LIKE DUCK SHOOTING .

Problem Solving is Like Shooting Ducks You Don't Shoot at the Whole Flock at Once Instead, Try Hard to Pick Off One After Another



For a week or more, while the first fifteen or twenty groups of girls were interviewed, a lot of floundering occurred. And then the truth began to dawn. What was labeled as the "gift problem" was not a problem at all, but several Birthday gifts were one thing, flowers for funeral and sickness another, gifts for special occasions such as marriage are still another. What the employees told in the group interviews, after thinking began to

crystallize, was simply this: Different arrangements should be made to handle different sorts of gift-fund problems. As the problem was broken down, the solution became simple.

Work flows. Whatever blocks or interrupts the flow hampers the workers. These blockages are clues to problems. As many as 35 interferences have been recorded from a single group in an hour. In one case, 25 clerks, listed 65 separate interferences in their department. No wonder their work had bogged down. Group interviews are a device to locate interferences, which then can be dealt with by the problem-centered-group method.

It is not always necessary to organize group interviews in order to find and define a problem. The problem-centered-group method is a way of dealing directly with real problems. Such groups, wherein the managers as well as the workers participate, can be built within the framework of line and staff organizations.

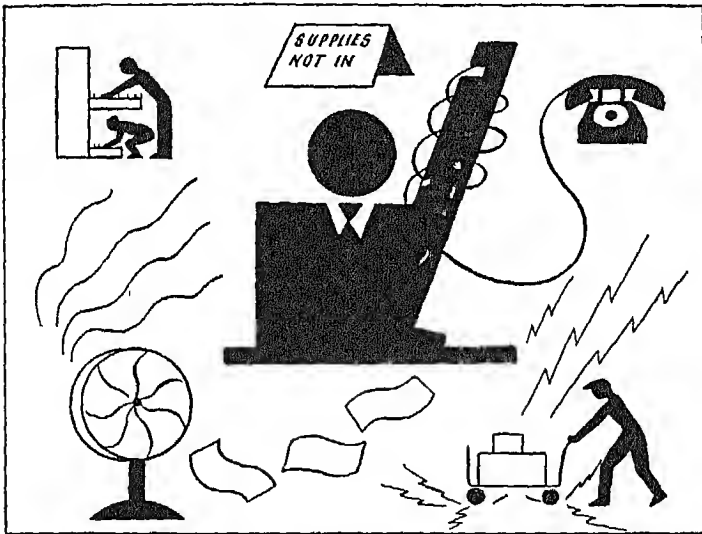
It is generally assumed that a business with one man giving orders is much more efficient than when many persons decide what to do. Often the same argument is used in favor of dictatorship, where one-man rule makes for efficiency, as against democracy where there is a lot of discussion and argument. But, in reality no business can be run by one man, for no human being knows everything there is to know, and no human being is always right.

A business that takes in 95 percent of its costs "almost" makes a profit. But, unless it does better than "almost," it will go bankrupt. The difference between 95 percent and 105 percent is the difference between life and death in business. Similarly, a one-man solution to a ten-men problem may be 95 percent—almost—right. All that the other nine will add, when given a chance, may be only 10 percent more. But what a difference that last 10 percent makes! Furthermore, the one-man solution often meets

resistance from some of the nine. The ten-men solution will get acceptance from all ten.

To achieve the highest possible efficiency, the solution of problems has to be put up to a small group of persons directly concerned, those who have a real knowledge of the problem, including both managers and employees. Thus, if the problem has to do with arrangement of office equipment, those who use the equipment and those who

WHAT INTERFERES WITH YOUR WORK?



supervise its use should counsel together in deciding where and how to place it. If the problem concerns the design of shipping containers, those who personally fill and move such containers will have a part in wrestling with the problem. Conferences must be informal, and be held as near as possible to the scene of operations where the problem lies. This is a reversal of the traditional practice that conferences shall be held in the office of the highest

ranking executive participating. Often the highest official is the one farthest removed from the actual scene of the problem

In order to attain the maximum effectiveness, care has to be taken that all the main interests are represented in the group. The situation that the problem-centered-group creates, will stimulate the members to concern themselves with the specific problem under consideration, and contribute from the point of view of their position or work to the formulation and solution of the problem involved. Such problem-centered-group meeting is more effective than the usual meeting between labor and business where the workers' representative sits on one side of a table, and the businessmen's representative on the other, emphasizing the divergent claims and conflicts, and thus creating a situation that is full of tension and opposition.

The problem-centered-group is not a standing committee. It starts with a living problem rather than a written statement. The nature of the problem determines the time, place, personnel, activities and longevity of the group. One of the most important things about these groups is that they are temporary. Each group has a job to do. It keeps at it until it is done. These groups come and go. They appear when and where problems exist. They disappear as the problems are solved. In some cases a problem may be solved in one or two meetings, in others a group may have to work with a problem for a period of weeks or months. To apply the method inside an industrial plant does not mean setting up a lot of fixed employee committees. On the contrary, it means changing the nature of the group constantly. If it takes only an hour to solve one problem, then the group will have a life of an hour. After the session is over, what remains is not only a solved problem, but also improved human relations that result from increased co-operation.

The following are a few specific examples of the workings of the problem-centered-group in the firm in which it has been applied:

Five girls in a department used a certain type of truck for order-picking. The manager knew the truck was not right. He called in the girls one at a time to ask for suggestions. They were reticent and shy, as employees often are in the boss's office. They did, however, suggest five ways to improve the truck.

Then the manager decided to try the problem-centered-group method. He brought the same girls together all at once and said: "You know more about this truck than anyone else. You work with it every day. Why don't you get your heads together and figure out how to make it really right? Let's have the best possible kind of a truck to do your work—the kind you would build if you were running this department yourselves." He then walked out, leaving it up to them. They developed, not five, but fourteen suggested changes in the truck. The methods division reviewed and refined their ideas. The improved truck was put in use. Manager, methods division, and the workers are all happy about it.

A department manager faced the problem of rearranging the seating of twelve girls in an office. He put it up to the girls concerned. For forty-five minutes they counseled together. They worked the problem out. The manager was glad to accept their recommendation. "The concessions they made to each other were surprising," he said. "If I had ordered them to do what they decided to do of their own accord, I'd have had a hornet's nest on my hands."

A group of nine persons, in another department, tackled a war emergency problem: conserving wrapping supplies. For five weeks they worked, both as individuals and as a group. They found within their own department a number

of new uses for paper, cardboard boxes, tubes, etc., previously thrown away to be baled. But they also found other materials being wasted for which no need in the department existed. These they put on exhibit. They invited other departments to come and look at the exhibit, to see whether they might use some of the waste matter. Representatives of other departments came. Many new uses of wasted materials resulted. A department, for example, asked for cardboard tubes, previously thrown away. It had been paying \$7.50 a thousand for similar tubes.

How much more effective is such an exhibit than merely sending around a mimeographed list of waste supplies available! Scores of employees in the department were able, through the exhibit, to visualize what had been accomplished. A physical exhibit is a form of project report that reaches the many. A written report commonly reaches only a few higher-ups.

Sometimes it does not even do that. One high officer who came to see an exhibit of "before" and "after" packing—the way it had been, and the way the employees thought it ought to be—noted an unusually glaring case of poor packing. He said to the department manager. "Didn't you ever report this condition?" The manager replied: "I've been reporting it every year for seven years." He reported it "through the proper channel"—in writing. Nothing happened. The words and the action never got together.

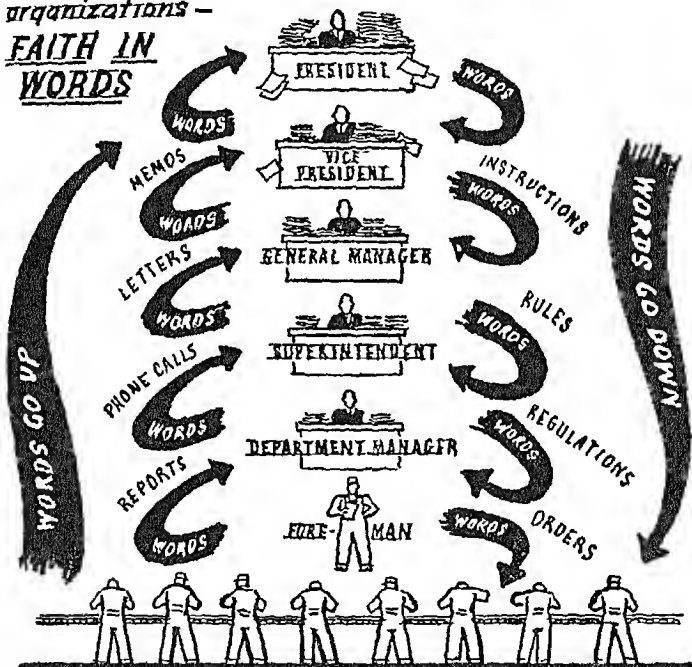
There were two elevators in one plant. One was at the back of the store, one in the middle. Service on the latter was poor. Often the operator would refuse to stop for long periods while he was serving floors above. Then merchandise, destined for the stock room in the basement, would stack up on the main floor of the store. It was most irritating to the manager. The situation was full of tension.

There had been trouble for months. A few days before the problem-centered-group was formed, an employee of the store asked the manager if it would be all right to take the elevator operator and kick his teeth out.

The problem was really a simple one. The trouble was in the "line of authority" system used in trying to solve it. Someone on the floor of the store would complain (in

A basic weakness of large organizations -

FAITH IN WORDS



words) to the operating superintendent. He would then pass the complaint on (in words) to the manager. The manager would then communicate (in words) with the general manager who had jurisdiction over elevators. The general manager would tell the operating superintendent

(in words) "They're having trouble with one of the elevators again down in the store. Better do something about it." The operating superintendent then passed the suggestion to his assistant (in words), who told it (in words) to the manager of receiving, who thereupon relayed it (in words) to the man in charge of the elevators. He looked into it. Nothing happened.

The problem-centered-group, made up of the same men who had taken part in this futile roundabout process, solved the problem in ten minutes. What had happened was nothing but a failure of words to convey information. The trouble lay with one elevator. The man who finally got the message had been checking up on the other one.

RESULTS OF THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP IN INDUSTRY

The following are the most important *operating* results of the application of the method: (a) solving problems better, (b) simplifying and improving operations, (c) speeding the acceptance of changed methods, (d) making trouble-shooting more thorough and systematic, (e) using more fully the accumulated wisdom of work experience. Concerning these operating results a general manager of the firm where the method has been used said: "We are confident that the problem-centered-group method is of inestimable value as a tool in solving operating problems."

The problem-centered-group not only helped to solve problems, but also resulted in valuable *personnel* by-products. (f) generating enthusiasm and raising morale, (g) building confidence, respect, and understanding through direct personal contacts, (h) stimulating and releasing latent powers of men and women, (i) discovering and developing leadership from within; (j) building genuine manager-worker teamwork inside the organization.

"Attitudes" have to do with relations of persons to each other, their feeling for each other. If fear, suspicion, and hostility exist, then attitudes are tense and strained. If frankness, openness, and confidence exist, then attitudes are more satisfactory. Attitudes are by-products. They are the indirect results of direct relations between people. For a "superior" to say to an "inferior", "Your attitude is wrong, I want to change it!" only makes the attitude worse. The situation becomes still more strained and tense, rather than less so. It is like telling a person to stop blushing—it only makes him blush more.

Persons who have been consulted will have a different attitude than if they had been ignored. Concerning the problem-centered-group method, a manager said. "Probably the greatest result of this project has been the enthusiasm created in our rank-and-file employees by bringing them into some of the problems of management. They now have a feeling of importance in that they have helped solve problems which were baffling the management. This enthusiasm and feeling is noticeable in improved morale and better quality of work."

Likewise, a person who consults others will have a different attitude from one who has imposed his will arbitrarily. To the extent the problem-centered-group is applied there will be more of a feeling of "we" as against "boss versus employee."

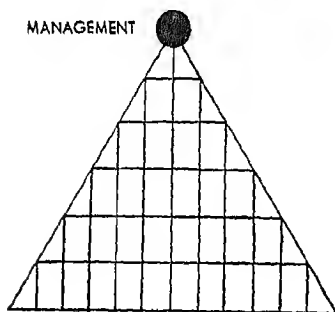
The application of the problem-centered-group method goes beyond the Western Electric project, referred to in the beginning of the chapter. The basic purpose of the Western Electric project has come to be to adjust the worker, through interviews, more happily to the system. The problem-centered-group method adjusts the system more to the human being, who is by nature a social being eager to participate.

Consider the organizational implications of the problem-

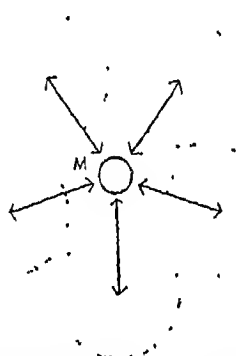
centered-group. Hierarchy, as a system, is probably rooted in the concept of the universe that prevailed before Columbus discovered America. The earth was flat, with heaven above, hell below. Such being the world view, an organizational system based on "upness" and "downness" was quite natural. We have changed the world view. We still have the system.

Hierarchical organizational structure is usually based on too much verbalism; the method of exhortation. The various examples given show that such a system of "upness" and "downness" is not efficient. Words moving down telling those at the scene of action what to do, do not tell all, they do not tell it sharply and accurately.

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 9



Hierarchical (Split) Organization Line and level organization—false to living, mechanistic. The internal structure is wrong, not the size of the firm so organized. Decision making (upper level) largely detached from concrete work-experience (lower levels)



Organic Organization "(Circular" organization—interrelated, interacting, integrated, seemingly much more complicated than the falsely simple kind shown on the left. Actually much simpler because it is natural, it conforms to the needs of the human beings involved. Decision making, planning, all inseparably related to work experience. Management is more in the "center"

If, however, problem-centered-groups were built within large organizations, we would gradually modify hierarchy from top down to one wherein the management would be within—more from center out. This implies that organiza-

tions would be multiple-centered, and based less on exhortation from the faraway top

Problem-centered-groups are "circles" within a line organization. They stimulate circulation. Circulation is essential to health, vigor, alertness and adaptability to change, both in a human body and in an organization of men and women. When circulation is low in a human body, we get stiff joints, slow movement, sluggish thinking, hardening of the arteries, etc. Similar things happen when circulation is low in a large organization.

Problem-centered-groups help to "streamline" an organization. They make it more efficient. *But they create more than efficiency. They create satisfaction in employees as well as a more democratic social structure.* Thus it is possible to combine efficiency and democracy; a reconciliation which has been one of the most difficult problems of democratic society.

In the previous chapters, we have seen how the problem-centered-group will generate action in the community, how in government it sets up opportunities for citizen participation, how in education it creates situations where children will have the direct experience of democratic acting and thinking; how in art and leisure it is a factor for creative recreation, how in journalism it evolves types of newspapers that are related to action and are based on participation; how it stimulates group self-help activities; how it creates situations where co-operation between managers and workers takes place. *The systematic building of such groups is a means of democratizing existing institutions.*

Obviously these are only a few examples indicating the application of the method at present and the possibilities of further application. Doubtless you can see many applications in connection with your work and activities. Whole

institutions of modern life are based on its principles. The great laboratories of corporations and research organizations, where scientific work is the result of co-operation, are replacing the lone inventor in his attic. The Consumer Co-operative movement and labor unions have used the method, and may profit by doing so to a greater extent.

The army is another field where the application of the problem-centered-group method has great potentialities. In practical operations, a modern army is partly made up not of individual soldiers as such but of small functional groups. The more efficiently groups are organized around machine guns, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, etc., the more effective their operations will be. The systematic development of the psychological potentialities of such a group is a part of the secret of the strength of the Nazi and Russian armies. To some extent we see the same thing in industry, the organization of a group of men around larger machines. One of the best illustrations of highly co-ordinated army units around specific tasks, is the crew of a modern bomber. The romantic solo daredevil is today an obsolete type of fighter. The modern bomber is composed of individuals working and fighting together. They form a highly integrated unit, each having a specific job to do, each fitting into a complex whole.

In Parts I and II the effect of do-democracy and its method on *social relations and problems* was discussed. In Part III the effect of do-democracy and its method on the *participating individuals will be described*.

Today, more than ever, we need mental hygiene, mental and emotional adjustment. Such mental and emotional adjustment depends largely on relationships to our problems and to other individuals. A strong current toward mass organization is moving all over the world. Personalities which are thwarted in our machine age find satisfaction and at-homeness in a small group where some of the basic wishes of human beings are satisfied.

PART III

THE EFFECT OF THE METHOD ON THE INDIVIDUAL

Chapter 10

CONCRETE THINKING ABOUT DEMOCRACY

CONCRETE VERSUS ABSTRACT THINKING ABOUT DEMOCRACY

Anyone speaking on the problem of democracy today finds his audience eager, interested, but bewildered. Again and again I have been asked the same questions by different types of groups all over the country "What is a democracy? Do we really have one here in the United States? And how about the English? Surely they cannot have a true democracy since they have a king?"

All such questions imply that democracy is an *entity*, like a car, and that one either has it or one does not. But if we stop to think, all of us realize that there is no such *thing* as democracy. There are certain practices, attitudes, and processes which we label "democratic." All that can be said is that the United States is more democratic than England, for it has more of such practices, attitudes, and processes. These legal practices, like elections and trial by jury, and attitudes, like tolerance and fraternity, and processes, like co-operation and discussion, are the component factors which make up what we call "democracy." They are not abstractions, they can be actually seen, heard, and experienced.

When a member of the audience asks, "You speak of

democracy all the time. Just what do you mean by it? Define it for us, please," I answer by saying, "Instead of defining, let me *show* you what I believe democracy involves. Just look around this group sitting here in a friendly atmosphere discussing some problems. Here we can *see* democracy in operation, here we can find its meaning. This is an example *showing* the meaning of democracy, not a wordy definition, subject to endless quibbling. I have pointed with my finger to an actual situation involving values which are usually thought of as abstract and faraway.

This approach breaks down a general and highly abstract term into more specific meanings. Why must we try to do this in our thinking? Because if we think in terms of specific problems and solutions rather than general ideas, we will use language which refers to something which can be experienced. Those who cannot rid themselves of the notion of democracy as an abstract ideal are caught in a hopeless maze of verbalism. This kind of thinking hardly fosters the practical outlook on our social world which we so desperately need.

This book shows that instead of talking about democracy, we must face those problems that democratic life involves. We must avoid vague and big words, like "Democracy" with a capital "D," since they do not refer to actualities. Instead of relating ourselves to *ideas*, by preferring "Democracy" to "Fascism," we must relate ourselves to immediate *situations* in which action is possible. We must go beyond verbal abstractions and keep in mind actuality: neighborhood A, neighborhood B, problem 1, problem 2, etc.

Democracy as an abstract idea is not a fact but a concept of the mind. Abstractions do not exist in experience, and practical thinking—which makes action possible—must be in terms of particular problems. Such a breaking

up of the concept of democracy into specific terms makes concrete orientation toward a world of facts (not ideas) possible.

It is one thing to talk about democracy in your living room, and it is another to meet with others in an attempt to deal with certain problems that exist in your firm or community which demand democratic solution. In the living room case you respond to and deal with *words* (Democracy, New Deal, Fascism, etc.). In the latter case you deal with your actual *environment*, with John, Bill, and Joe, an environment which can be changed by your action and that of John, Bill, and Joe.

A transition from an abstract conception of democracy to a concrete and specific one will make do-democracy possible, and thus democracy will cease to be a mere word and become an experience *Since democracy will assume a concrete meaning, we will be able to see how it is possible to do something about it, rather than just talk. The results of concrete thinking will not only lead to action, but also to adjustment for the individual.*

CONCRETE THINKING MAKES ACTION POSSIBLE

By breaking down the concept of democracy into specific terms and problems, we will be able to relate its meaning to daily life. There tends to be a dualism between our ideological and daily life. On the one hand we are apt to preach and believe in Christianity, justice, democracy, and liberty; on the other, we tend to live as if we did not believe in them. Such behavior is well illustrated by a story William James tells about a sentimental Russian lady who, by the fire of her room, talks about human love and weeps over the cruelty of the world, while her coachman, whom she left outside, freezes to death in the winter cold. Unless and until we can translate our ideals into

daily practice, we will not be able to achieve a better society, and attain the satisfaction that comes from acting according to one's ideals. Theory and practice, words and acts, must be related in order to avoid the futility of verbalism and the frustration that comes from it.

Why is it that it is usually the businessman who gets things done? Is it not because he does not talk in abstract terms, does not argue about principles, but faces the facts of a given situation or problem? Perhaps the expression "getting down to business" originated from the practice of businessmen of facing their problems realistically. Why is it that so many "idealists," reformers, and intellectuals fail to get things done? Is not the reason for their failure due to the fact that they tend to think and talk in terms of abstractions and vague generalizations? Their gaze is turned toward heaven, and they dwell within the realm of words. Instead of looking at the situation at hand, they tend to get wrapped up in words. Words to them become substitutes for acts; dreams, substitutes for reality.

Some of us tend to believe that the verbal world has more reality than the world that can be seen and touched. The belief that words as such have power over things is the essence of primitive word magic. A word is often used among the primitives when it can produce an action and not describe one. The external world is viewed as passive and malleable to human wishes. This magical approach lacks an understanding of the real control of means and ends, it does not recognize a causal sequence in the world. The primitive believes that prayer, the uttering of magic words, will cure a sick person, he does not recognize the fact that there is no causal relation between any words and disease.

Talk-democracy likewise assumes that words themselves are sufficient to create a good society. Persons like Louis, of whom we talked in Chapter 2, believes, like the primi-

tive man, in word magic. He does not see that the realization of his wishes is only possible at the cost of effort directed toward changing the external world. He blinds himself to the hindrances of reality, and, like a child, tends to regard his desires as realized immediately in their conception. Louis indulges in word magic when he believes that by uttering words against Hitler or by talking highly of democracy, he has accomplished something effective.

Vague talk and dreaming will not get us anywhere, only specific acts by which we can gradually get from where we are to where we want to be. *There is no way of modifying the shape of the social world except by attending to concrete situations which are under our control, which we can affect.* A realistic and practical person like John, also mentioned in Chapter 2, is well aware of this fact.

The more concrete our thinking is, the easier will action be. There cannot be over-all solutions for our problems. To deal with generalities is easy; it does not require hard practical thinking. Hence many talk about the farm problem, the school problem, the manpower problem and other general problems. Such generalizing leads us to search for falsely simple answers. The answer cannot be found, because the general problem does not exist. What does exist is a maze of interrelated problems, which implies the necessity of concrete thinking about each one, so that individual answers may be found.

CONCRETE THINKING LEADS TO ADJUSTMENT

Facing and dealing with concrete problems will have a profound influence on our personalities. William James well expressed this point when he said: "When a resolve or a fine glow of feeling is allowed to evaporate without

bearing practical fruit, it is wiser than a chance lost; it works so as positively to hinder future revolutionary emotions from taking the normal path of discharge" James goes on to say that every good that is worth possessing must be paid for in stakes of daily effort. The same idea has been expressed somewhat differently by John Dewey, who said: "Until one takes intermediate acts seriously enough to treat them as ends, one wastes one's time in an effort at change of habits. Of the intermediate acts, the most important is the next one. The first or earlier means is the most important end to discover."

Applying this to do-democracy, intermediate acts are the specific problems which have to be met. It might be less "heroic" to deal democratically with a problem of adjusting human relations in one's place of business, or in the school one's son attends, or to participate effectively in civilian defense, than it is to try to reform society as a whole all at once. But we must realize that the only way to breed a horse is little by little; the only way to make democracy work is for each of us to cultivate his own garden.

By relating ourselves to concrete situations, we can achieve personal adjustment Modern psychiatry has shown that maladjustments often arise out of our inability to live in the present fully and creatively. Lack of adjustment is often the result of yearning after the infinite. What psychiatrists call "free floating anxiety" is produced by a lack of contact with life in its everyday aspect. As an example, it might be pointed out that the reason why one finds a high frequency of neuroses among the younger members of the "leisure class" is because these young people usually do not have much contact with real life, and have no concrete interests and duties. Some of these persons recognize the value of having something definite to do, and take jobs. They do not need the income from

them, but they feel, and their psychological insight is correct, that a job will keep them occupied, and force them to face concrete problems that arise out of working and coming into contact with other people. Those who live in a dream world are likely to be slaves of their passions and moods, since external reality—regularity, punctuality, duty, responsibility, necessity of facing problems, etc.—does not bind them.

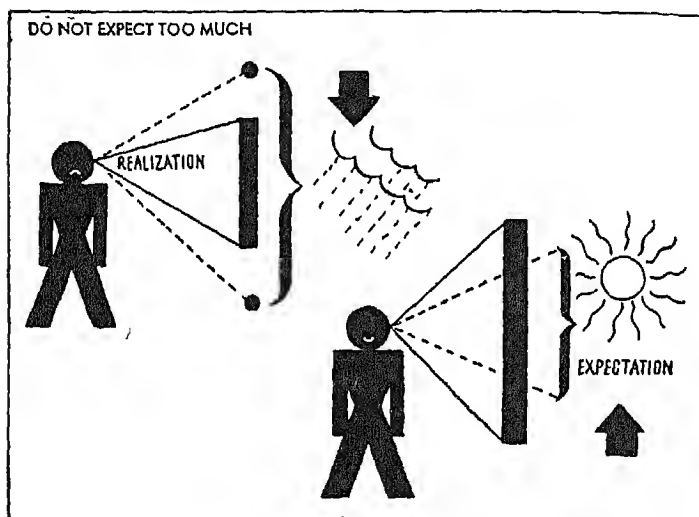
Gordon Allport, in his book *Personality*, states that the extension of the self may be said to be the first requirement for the maturity and adjustment of a person. What Freud calls "object orientation" (relating oneself to the outside world), Jung, "extraversion" and Alfred Adler "social feeling," is the key to sanity. Allport goes on to say that: "Without a shadow of doubt psychology in the past twenty years had more interest in these traits (extraversion and introversion) than in any other."

The whole aim of psychoanalysis can be summarized by stating that it strives to strengthen the "ego," which is that part of the personality through which we relate ourselves to the external world. Many disruptions of personality are due to the individual's withdrawal into an inner world. The function of reality is to reduce this tendency toward daydreaming.

Extraversion; preference and ability to relate ourselves to, and participate in the outside world, is encouraged when an individual concentrates upon concrete problems. His chances of happiness and effective living will increase with his ability to do so. John is a much more adjusted and integrated person than Louis. One difference between a mature person and an immature is the ability of the former to face reality and do something about it, while the latter is only able to dream, brood, and condemn.

To limit one's desires and aims is the secret of happiness and success. Unless our energies are directed toward com-

patible and attainable ends, life is dwarfed. Happiness and adjustment are determined to a great extent by the relation of our expectations to their realization. Disillusionment is directly related to the magnitude of illusions. The man who expects to make \$5,000 a year and makes only \$3,000 is a "failure" in his own eyes. The man who expects to make \$2,000 and makes \$3,000 is a "success."

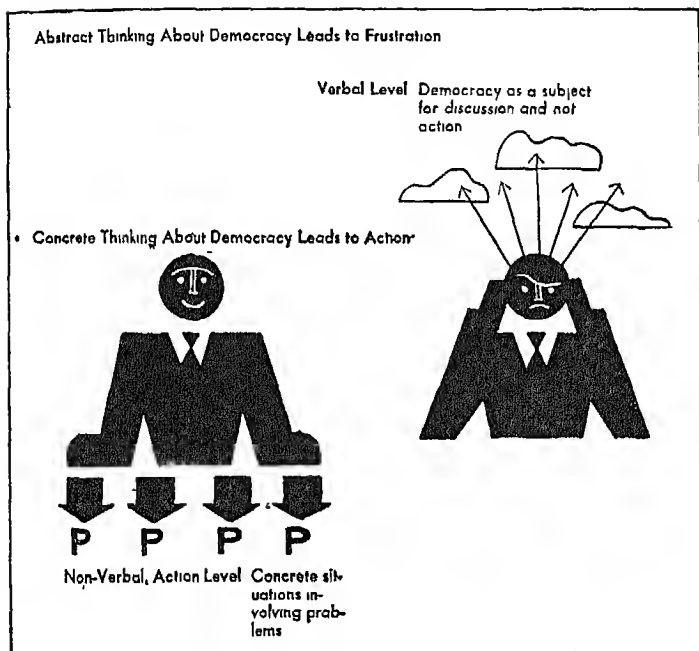


Pessimism is often the result of a contradiction that exists between the ideals we have in our minds about the world, and the world as it really is. A person who has a vision of a perfect society, and also sees how imperfect society really is, will be unhappy and maladjusted because of his helplessness in the face of what he thinks are insurmountable obstacles to the realization of his dreams.

When our aspirations to do something are high and we cannot find an outlet we will become discouraged. An individual's insecurity is proportional to what he can do about a given problem. He will usually react aggressively

when he thinks that he is not in control of the situation. When he cannot find something to do, frustration results. When what he does does not appear to be significant, or when he does something and nothing comes of it, the result is the same.

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 10



If we think too much in terms of general ideas and problems, we will be overwhelmed by the bigness of problems and will be frustrated because of our inability to do something about them directly. *That is why it is important to concentrate on specific problems on which our energies will not be wasted.* Once we do not attempt too much, nor that too quickly, and realize, as John does,

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that this world is not a kindergarten, and that, while we cannot change it overnight, we can make ourselves useful and significant in specific situations, action, as well as the adjustment that comes from action, will result.

Chapter 11

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP

THE RELATED INDIVIDUAL

The human self is the result of action and communication in society. Man is not born human, he becomes human through social intercourse. Without social intercourse and experience, men would be animals. If a group of children were reared by apes, they would grow up totally uncivilized. If the human race were to lose all its social traditions and knowledge, men could not communicate with each other since they would have no language. Without communication, there cannot be any social organization. People would wander around in hordes and would be subject to starvation and disease.

Individuals live in society, and society exists through them. Individuals are real, but they become real through associations with others. Man is not a detached unit, but a living being related to the whole of society. *We are not atoms in a void, but parts of society in which we express ourselves and find release and satisfaction.* In the process of living together individuals find their place in society. When they are no longer able to organize their lives for the affirmation and progressive realization of their selves, they become disorganized. Such is the fate of many today, who no longer belong and find their places.

In Chapter 1, we have seen the frustrating effects of modern life. Many of us lack the feeling of belongingness, without which men are adrift. Today we live in an atomis-

tic society. Types of relationships that are mutually satisfactory exist in a sadly limited way. Detachment leads to insecurity, insecurity leads to emotional unbalance. Movements like Nazism are caused to a great extent by the willingness of lonely and maladjusted persons to follow a leader, in order to throw off the oppressive feeling of isolation and lack of belongingness.

We are confronted with the task of preventing insecurity, frustration, and maladjustment in modern society. The need for social therapy is so great and the number of trained psychiatrists is relatively so small that it seems poor judgment to have them devoting so much of their energy to individual therapy. The situation is much as it would be in the automobile industry if there were relatively few trained automotive engineers and if these concentrated mainly on salvaging individual wrecked or badly used cars.

The demand for psychiatric service is far ahead of supply. Only a portion of the patients can be treated. What happens to those who do not get the needed treatment? An outstanding psychiatrist answers.

Some whose mental disorders are curable, when neglected, become incurable. Some live at public expense in mental hospitals, penal institutions, or on relief rolls. Some drag along unhappy lives, producing foci of emotional infection wherever their lives lead them into close relationships with other persons. The neurotic mother rears a "nervous" or delinquent child. The child involves his schoolmates in delinquency, and later married, a new neurotic family with new mental disorders continues the vicious sequence "unto the children's children."

We must shift the emphasis from therapy to prevention. The big problem before us is to treat a neurotic society, not just sick individuals here and there. Situations must be created where integrated, wholesome living together

is possible. Such living has the power to overcome frustrations, remove fears, and release creative powers.

FREEDOM FOR VERSUS FREEDOM FROM

Democracy based on participation involves a revised conception of individualism and a positive conception of freedom. These can do much to reduce insecurity and maladjustment in the modern world.

It is a mistake to talk about the antithesis of man and society. Such a dichotomy leads to an either-or trap by forcing us to choose between rugged individualism and collectivism. Collectivism commits the mistake of ignoring the individual, rugged individualism, on the other hand, disregards society. If individuality and freedom are suppressed, life as we understand it is impossible, if individuality and freedom are exclusively asserted, anarchy will result. *A middle way must be found, which does away with the dichotomy between rugged individualism and collectivism. Related individualism, which views individuals as the result of relations with one another, is such a middle way.*

Society is antithetical to the individual only if its structure is oppressive. Rugged individualism has its origin in a reaction against the oppressive feudal order and paternalistic state. Freedom, in the sense of rugged individualism, means emancipation from an oppressive government and social order, it implies freedom *from* restrictions. But such a negative conception of freedom, if carried too far, destroys all organic relations and breaks up all sense of belongingness.

The overthrow of the domination of church and state—the removal of formal limitations—is but a negative condition; it does not *per se* create positive freedom. Freedom must be not only freedom *from* restrictions, for that leads

to isolation and frustration, but also freedom *for* constructive action. Our conception of freedom must not be negative, it must not consist of independence from the world, for to be without a master is not necessarily to be free.

Freedom has also often been thought of merely in the legal sense, as a right. But it is more than something that can be taken for granted, or a right that is guaranteed by law. A positive conception of freedom implies freedom *for* the development of the individual. It enables him to secure release and fulfillment of his potentialities in manifold associations with others. Democratic thought has often committed the mistake of thinking in terms of number of votes, and has not paid enough attention to the development of the individual. Man must not be treated as an abstraction or as an isolated being.

We are individuals in the fullest sense, not when isolated and alone, but when joined with others in activities which are satisfying. Individuals do not grow in power and stature by themselves, they grow through relationships with others. Human beings depend on society, which is regulation and expression at the same time. While it puts regulations and limits to the satisfaction of some of our impulses, it is also a source of expression. Most of our greatest joys—love, friendship, response, respect and so forth—are the result of relationships with others.

Human beings crave to belong, a craving which goes deeper than the craving to possess. It is love stories, not success stories, that pack the movies. The humblest human being wants and needs certain physical things: food, clothing, and shelter. But he wants and needs also certain intangibles: communication, feeling of belongingness, esteem, and response. Christianity understood the psychological value of relating the individual to others, hence its insistence on altruism and fellowship.

Overemphasis of the individual as such, whether he be

working by himself or haranguing a crowd, tends to develop exaggerated feelings of self-importance. This leads to selfishness. Selfishness leads to contention. In genuine teamwork, it is otherwise. A normal individual, in the long run, gets more satisfaction from being a part of something bigger than self, even if it is only a small group, than he does from strutting his ego.

Inability to establish contact with one's fellows leads to a frustrated life. Self-centered individuals are not only usually unhappy but also help to create social disintegration. Recent psychology has shown that human beings develop to the fullest efficiency in co-operative activities. By co-operating with others individuals are able to achieve a sense of belongingness. John has more of this than either Louis or Frank.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE PROBLEM-CENTERED-GROUP

The bond between the individual and society is indirect; he is bound to society only to the extent that he is bound to other individuals within society. Real belongingness can be felt only in the group—in person-to-person relationships.

There is an experiment which is very significant for it proves scientifically the value and effectiveness of the democratic small group. This experiment was conducted with children, but there does not seem to be any reason why the results would not be applicable to adults as well. The investigation was carried on at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station and was described by Dr. Kurt Lewin in the July, 1938, issue of *The Social Frontier*, under the title: "Experiments on Autocratic and Democratic Atmospheres."

Dr. Lewin remarks that while the term "atmosphere" is vague, "any teacher knows that he will have no dis-

ciplinary difficulties if he can create the right atmosphere." The nature of this atmosphere will determine whether it is conducive to security or insecurity, and will set to a great extent the goals and values of the participating persons.

Three different kinds of atmospheres were set up: democratic, authoritarian, and laissez-faire. The same group of children (ten or eleven years old) were studied in all three different atmospheres, and in different orders of change from one atmosphere to another. In the autocratic atmosphere the leader told the children what to do, with whom to work and how. In the democratic atmosphere all problems of policy were put up to the children to decide. In the laissez-faire atmosphere no direction was given and the leader stood aside from the group.

The experiment showed the following results:

1. Hostility manifested among the members of the autocratic group was about thirty times as high as in the democratic group. This was probably due to the greater tension in the autocratic group. According to Dr. Lewin, "aggressiveness was not directed openly against the autocrat (toward whom the children were generally submissive) but tended to find an outlet in the easy and less dangerous way of attacking a scapegoat."

2. The autocratic group showed a less stable group structure. In the democratic group, co-operation developed spontaneously, while in the autocratic group co-operative ventures had a tendency to break down rather quickly. The experiment included a change from democratic to autocratic atmosphere. In the former, the children were working with considerable conversation between them. After the change to autocratic structure, the conversation died out. Only questions were asked of the leader. Children became less active, and when the autocrat left the room, the work which was carried on in

his presence faded away. In the laissez-faire group, co-operative work arises, but "usually disintegrates very quickly into individual undertakings and ends generally in horse-play"

3. The democratic group showed 47 percent more feeling of "We-ness"; the autocratic group 27 percent more feeling of "I-ness."

4. The democratic group was more matter of fact and constructive than the autocratic group.

The same experiment was discussed by Goodwin Watson in the May, 1940, issue of *Progressive Education*. He tells the story of Sarah and Sue. Sarah has been put in the autocratic group where she developed a tendency to dominate others. Sue, who was in the democratic group, was friendly and objective in her responses. Then they were placed in different groups. When put in the autocratic group, friendly Sue became ego-centric and aggressive. Sarah became more co-operative and matter of fact when placed in the democratic group.

The experiment also demonstrated that the laissez-faire group was more like autocracy than democracy. The children had nothing to do, they had no plan to live by. They experienced discomfort and were practically as aggressive as those in the autocratic group. Efficiency was highest in the democratic group where the children were more careful and appreciative. In contrast, minor "strikes" and "sabotage" occurred in the autocratic group.

Watson concludes that: "the boys and girls in the various experiments knew they had been given various leaders, but they did not know the principles upon which the leaders had operated." When interviewed, 95 percent preferred whichever leader had been following democratic procedures

This experiment proves two points: (a) *Democratic groups are most efficient.* Autocracy may look like the

simple and effective way to get quick results, but in the long run it does not pay. This whole volume has been written on the basis of this contention (b) *Persons who participate in democratic groups develop co-operative and objective attitudes.*

In laissez-faire groups the children were aggressive and unhappy because they had nothing to do. Such is also the case with talk-democrats who do not direct their energies toward specific tasks. In the long run, authoritarianism is not only repressive and frustrating to individuals but is also inefficient. In contrast to the two above-mentioned groups, the democratic one is stimulating, and leads to co-operation, initiative, responsibility, and objective attitudes. Participation in such a group enhances the development of integrated personalities.

The operation of our mental and emotional equipment depends on the stimuli which arouse activities. The situation created by the problem-centered-group stimulates persons to become outgoing, to participate. The too ingrown, self-centered individual, when placed in such a group, has his attention drawn to the problem, and so away from himself. Thus the problem-centered-group creates an atmosphere where extraversion occurs without effort. Toward a common problem, each person is oriented. "Free-floating anxiety," mentioned in the previous chapter, is diminished as the individual tends to become object (problem) oriented. He becomes somewhat less self-centered, somewhat more outgoing. The dispersed individual, the well-intentioned person, who wants to give to everybody, without having too much to give, becomes somewhat less dispersed when his attention is focused, along with others, on the problem in the "center."

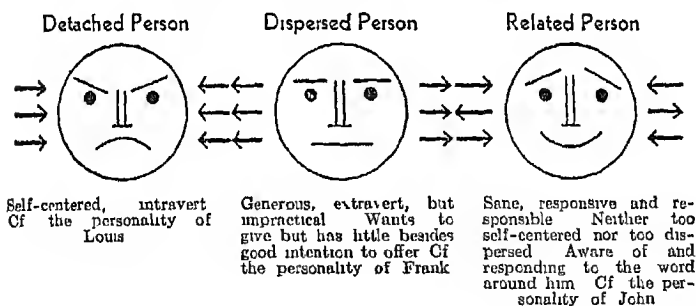
Suppose there is a problem of juvenile delinquency in your community. A problem-centered-group is created to deal with the situation. A detached man, a merchant, is

drawn into the group, because it is to his advantage to do away with stealing. A dispersed individual, a schoolteacher, joins the group because she has the desire to help. Another businessman joins because he has been interested in a boys' club in the community.

In the process of facing the problem, the merchant finds that to participate successfully he must give help as well as expect to profit by the results. The schoolteacher finds that she has little to offer in spite of her good will unless she thinks in concrete terms. The other businessman finds that, although he knows about boys' problems, it is necessary for him to invite others who know more about them than he does.

The relationship of this merchant, schoolteacher, and businessman, and others later involved, is only one phase

GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 11



of the picture. By defining the problem and enlisting the efforts of those involved toward solving it, by redirecting their emotional stress from the persons involved to the impersonal problem, the above persons have not only taken steps toward the solution of the problem, but have improved their relationships and provided a mechanism for the solution of other problems. After the initial situation has been met, this mechanism may set off new activ-

ity, which carries into other fields, widening social relationships and creating new combinations of friends and problems.

From a psychiatric point of view, the problem-centered-group has a therapeutic effect on maladjusted individuals, inasmuch as it makes self-centered individuals outgoing and focuses the energies of dispersed persons. This is important in view of the "neurotic personality of our time." Obviously, participation in small groups will not make sane persons out of maladjusted ones overnight, but it does work for better adjustment for the individual. It does help persons to relate themselves to others, to specific problems, and to act as well as talk. *Through such groups, we shall not only harness our latent energies, but also reduce psychological tensions and frustrations, and enable individuals to become more mature* Democracy cannot function except if based on individuals who are capable of acting and thinking in a mature, object-oriented, practical way. On the other hand, such mature individuals need democracy, since they can only live and develop in a free and co-operative society.

CONCLUSION

Today democracy is in mortal danger all over the world. The threat to democracy is not entirely on the military front. There are certain forces within modern society—insecurity, disintegration, centralization, etc.—which tend to make its workings difficult. While we are fighting anti-democratic forces abroad, some of us are losing faith in the workability of our democratic system at home. Some critics of democracy point out that it is becoming obsolete, that it cannot meet the issues of our present age, and is bound to be replaced by some kind of managerial society, or technocracy, or state socialism, or some other kind of benevolent bureaucracy. These critics—who are often sincere in their analysis and have to be distinguished from the slander of the Nazis and their fellow travellers—predict the end of democracy even if the war is won. The fact that what these critics say is to some extent justified, makes the future of democracy all the more disturbing.

Since many have realized the limitations of traditional democracy in meeting the problems of our time, the solution is seen in an intervening government. Such statism may be benevolent, and in this it differs from dictatorships. But it would mean the end of the American pattern of free society. Whether it would be controlled by business, or labor, or managers, or technicians, or bureaucrats, this would certainly be the case. Statism is a reaction to *laissez-faire*. But the effective answer to *laissez-faire* is not statism but the recognition of the need of integration, which would bring groups together and preserve the system of free enterprise.

No integration is possible unless the various groups in

our country realize that they have to learn to live together if they wish to survive. The fate of labor, business, and other groups under totalitarianism should be a sufficient incentive for these groups to work together voluntarily. Democracy can only function in a society where power is distributed among various groups and changes occur by peaceful means. Authoritarianism is the concentration of power into the hands of one group and changes are repressed by force. In a despotic society force radiates from the central seat of power, in a free society, political vitality is diffused throughout the whole of society, as animal heat is developed and maintained in every part of the entire body.

Free society is based on unity and not uniformity. It requires groups and individuals living together more or less harmoniously, with none of the groups dominating the others. Such society depends on the activity of its component parts, it is capable of peaceful change and progress. It is based on a pluralistic notion, where different ethnic, religious, political, economic and professional groups live together for mutual advantage. A free society encourages differences, for it realizes that diversity is a sign of health, and a society in which there are no varieties is monotonous, stupid and unprogressive.

Tolerance is not what is needed, for it suggests endurance. We must have an appreciation of differences and what they mean in terms of the progress of society. Perhaps the greatest contribution of America to civilization has been its inclusive society. Christianity likewise had its strength in its inclusiveness. Anybody, no matter how humble in origin, could belong. It is dangerous for any society to exclude individuals and groups. They will turn against that society and grasp the first opportunity to destroy it, they will transform it to make a place for themselves.

In a liberal society, individuals and groups are integral parts of the whole of society, not subservient to the state. It is only in such a society, based on many groups, that free enterprise and individual freedom can exist. Only if man can owe allegiance to family, church, profession, etc., instead of exclusive allegiance to the state, will he be free. When the opportunity to be different is taken away from man, he loses his freedom. Freedom exists only in a pluralistic society, where individuals have a choice as to where they shall belong and what they shall do.

Such a society cannot be one where everybody is equal, for freedom means development, and human beings have varying capacities. Some theorists of democracy tended to believe in a society where inequality is abolished, not realizing that in order to achieve this, all people will have to do the same task; and this involves suppressing initiative and abolishing freedom. This is also the fundamental implication of some socialistic ideologies. Even if this suppression is exercised, equality will remain a distant dream, for the most repressive policy cannot keep people alike in attainment and capacities. Critics of democracy have revolted against such a conception of equality. On the other hand, many democratic thinkers insisted that inequality would mean hierarchy.

In a free society, equality as well as inequality must exist. Equality must be ethical and legal, but it cannot be actual. Equality of opportunity will inevitably lead to some kind of hierarchy, but such a hierarchy will not be rigid, for there are chances of advancement for all. Further, the important thing about such a society is not that its members are unequal, but that they perform different tasks. Democracy's aim has to be to provide an opportunity for every individual to fulfill his destiny. The result will be a high division of labor, where every individual is

placed to perform the highest that is compatible with his powers.

Groups, especially the smaller ones, will have an important function in preventing movements like Nazism. There is danger in the crowd, it makes propaganda, in the hands of a potential leader, a supreme weapon. The elimination of crowd behavior must be the final goal of democracy. This can be accomplished by drawing the potential members of the crowd into vital enterprises, where they will live in groups. Thus the problem of democracy is to keep groups alive and organized. Democracy's success depends on the ability of individuals to think, and that can only occur in an atmosphere where they are not swayed by hysteria, as in the crowd, but are able to congregate in groups to deliberate on vital issues. In groups, individuals interchange opinions and ideas. In the crowd no such interchange occurs, for its members do not communicate with one another, they all look up and listen to the leader.

Democracy has been defined as the dictatorship of orators. That is not true, Nazism is the dictatorship of orators. But it is true that traditional democracy, the base of which is elections, has tendencies toward oratorical domination. The hold of such domination must be diminished, since its strength is based on irrationality. A revised conception of democracy, based on the method of participation would involve individuals and groups in the activity of the whole of society. In the crowd the individual ceases to exist, in the group he finds expression. In an integrated society, the impulses and wishes of people are absorbed and satisfied by the groups of which such a society is composed.

The present crisis has one good effect, it compels us to reconsider the methods of democracy. Under ordinary conditions we would be just drifting about and muddling through. Today, however, we recognize the value of free-

dom and democracy, precisely because we are in danger of losing them. While at the end of the nineteenth century democracy seemed to have been triumphant, today we realize that the battle for it must be fought all over again. To meet the problems of our time, democracy must again take the offensive. Mere anti-totalitarianism is not sufficient, it is too negative. Every crisis our country has undergone in the past has called forth a response sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. Democracy today must answer the totalitarian challenge by a rediscovery of itself. The greatest offensive we can start against the dangers of dictatorship is to release the basic forces of our democratic society. That is our secret weapon.

The war may become the midwife of a dynamic democracy, for it necessitates co-operation and action. Today, more than ever, we are ready for action. A certain businessman, so the story goes, put up a sign DO IT NOW! Within a few days his secretary eloped, his bookkeeper disappeared with a pay roll, and three department heads asked for raises. Aside from its indicating the power of suggestion, this anecdote illustrates one effect the war is having, and will continue to have, on our lives—acceleration in unexpected ways. Some things that might not have happened will now happen. Some things that might have happened eventually may happen sooner.

A most important lesson of the war has been the refutation of the popular thesis, that the execution of the war requires dictatorship. The unity in our country was not attained through the suppression of various groups, but has come about through the voluntary participation of all groups and classes in the common struggle. England also gives us an outstanding example of a country which has been able to wage war effectively under most unfavorable military circumstances, and, in spite of the war, has been able to remain a free and democratic nation. As a matter

of fact England is more democratic today than it was prior to the war with Nazi Germany. The bombing of England and the danger of invasion brought people closer together.

The increased co-operation and action in our country today must not be thought of as emergency measures for the duration. They must become permanent features of American life, so that when the war is over they will not evaporate. We get excited about the necessity of co-operation in wartime, and tend to forget its importance when the war is over. But the wartime concern about co-operation and action can be utilized in creating a dynamic democracy which will carry over into the peace.

The postwar world will be full of difficulties for every nation. The last war was followed by revolutions in some countries and chaos in others. The situation under the Weimar Republic was to a great extent typical of the predicament of France, Italy, and even England and the United States. It is reasonable to assume that at the end of the present war, tremendous economic, political and social problems will exist all over the world. The war keeps the United Nations, and the various groups within each of these nations, together. It provides unity by furnishing a common purpose. But once the purpose, the defeat of the Axis, is gone, all the suppressed conflicts will come to the fore.

The dangers of chaos will be real even in the United States. There is the menace that the complexity of our society will be reinforced by a postwar crisis, and the consequent disintegration and insecurity will lead to the emergence of a leader. It must not be forgotten that a similar situation occurred after the last war when Huey Long appeared on the American scene. If at that time American society had not been stabilized to some extent and the people given a new faith by the New Deal, and if

Huey Long had not been assassinated, it is not impossible that authoritarianism would have spread all over the United States.

The experience of postwar Germany teaches us that people confronted with a choice between, on the one hand, liberty with accompanying insecurity, and on the other, the hope of security, will forfeit the former. In a situation of insecurity and disintegration many persons will become tired of freedom and will exclaim "Tell us what to do!" The answer of the leader will run like this: "You are a people who do not know its own mind; you are confused, trust in me and I will lead you into paradise!"

It is precisely because of the possibility of such a danger that it is essential that wartime co-operation and dynamics should not cease on the day of the armistice. A well-integrated society acts as a shock absorber to crises.

Do-democracy will accelerate the creation of a dynamic democracy. It is not based on slogans or outbursts of enthusiasm which flare up and then quickly die away. Furthermore, the great advantage of a theory of democracy based on participation is that it does not lean toward any "ism." It does not offer a simple "solution" which is the stock-in-trade of Marxists, Socialists, technocrats, etc., who put their faith in abstract formulas and try to squeeze social, economic and political processes into the pattern of blueprints.

The proposed conception of democracy is a meeting ground for all labor, business, professions, and other groups and classes. It is very important for the future of our society that we find ways and means to bridge some big gaps that now exist between government and business, capital and labor, business and social work, schools and jobs, officials and citizens, etc. Do-democracy is based on the belief, shared by Eric Johnston, that the "areas of agreement" are wider than the areas of disagreement, and

that the area of disagreement can be whittled down by consultation and discussion.

This book is written in the belief that the criticism of democracy is true of our traditional democratic ideology. But the fundamental assumptions of democracy and its ultimate aim is not affected either by changing social forces or by the critics. The basic problem is not that of replacing democracy by some other fundamental principle, but that of readjusting it. The *ends* of democracy are permanent, its *methods* must vary with the requirements of the times. Democracy is bound to fail unless it is able to adapt itself to changed conditions. If we extend it successfully in education, government, industry, and other areas of living, it will continue to be the guiding principle of our society. The most effective way to combat disintegration and inaction is to practice democracy around our corners—not for altruistic reasons alone, but because in this direction lies the enlightened self-interest of every one of us.

Do-democracy is a partial answer to some of the problems of our complex society. It is not a cure for all. But it will enable us:

To reduce the stress on the legal aspects of democracy, voting and parties.

To reduce the formalism of our present democracy by stressing the importance of human relations rather than administrative procedures and parliamentary rules of order.

To reduce the verbalism of present-day democracy by showing how words may be translated into action.

To transform hierarchical organizations into more democratic ones, and empty-shelled institutions into living organisms.

To reduce the abstractness of our present democratic

thought by stressing the importance of thinking in terms of concrete situations

To reduce the negativeness of present-day democracy by making participation possible for a great number of people.

To solve many practical problems in various fields of human endeavor.

To bring together people and thus help to create integration.

To release the energy of which man is capable.

To help to create adjustment for the individual by relating him to other persons.

The problems of democracy are plain everyday problems. Do-democracy is a way by which these problems can be met, it is a way by which our daily life becomes creative. No one can honestly say, "There is nothing for me to do." The real fifth column of a country are the citizens who merely talk about democracy but do not act and encourage others to act democratically. Democracy, whether in war or peace, is a continual struggle, the non-combatant is a deserter.

In a land like ours, famous for its practical outlook, there is a tremendous let's-do-something-about-it attitude. If this can be transformed into action, our democracy will be more dynamic, it will be able to face more effectively the problems of the war emergency and the problems that peace will bring.

This volume has tried to tell how this attitude can be transferred into action in many fields of modern life. Most important, however, *its aim is to help those who talk, to act; to help those who want to act, but do not know how, to find methods of action, and to help those who act, to act more efficiently.*

This volume ends, it cannot be concluded. It is you who can conclude it—by action—by becoming more of a democrat.

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